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Selections.

BORDER-STATE LOYALTY ILLUSTRATED.

IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE U. S. SENATE.

[In the U. S. Senate, Jan. 22, GARRET DAVIS, the recently-elected Senator from Kentucky, in the course of a speech upon the question of expelling JESSE D. BRIGHT, of Indiana, for disloyalty, took occasion to express the views of slavery in relation to the war entertained by the slaveholding Unionists of the Border States, and to pour out the bitterness of his heart as a slaveholder upon the Northern champions of liberty. We present below nearly the whole of that portion of his speech, followed by the substance of the reply made by JAMES HARLAN Senator from Iowa.]

SPEECH OF GARRET DAVIS.

In this hour of our country's great need, when she wants and requires that every true Union man, every loyal son and daughter of hers, shall unite all their energies, all their forces, to save her from dissolution, I had hoped that in the Congress of the United States, in this awful moment at least, the Abolition party or faction would have been hushed, and that the only object calculated to produce division among the true men of the country, would not be introduced in either House of Congress, if it could be possibly avoided. I had hoped at any rate that the raven cry of "slavery" would not be heard in either House of Congress during this rebellion, and I was pained immeasurably that the dominant party in the country, and in the two Houses of Congress on meeting here together, did not invite, frankly and openly, in the presence of heaven and earth, the coöperation of all Union men who were willing to put down this rebellion, and say to them, now, now, in this greatest need of our government and our country, let all questions that divide us be suspended. Let us keep them out of our deliberations. Let us unite upon the one elevated and sublime platform of undying devotion to the Union and the country. Upon that we can all meet, and on that let us consult and act, and give all our energies to our country. Let us not give up to party and to faction. Let us rise to a purer atmosphere. Let us evoke the inspiration of the Revolution, and let us emulate the example of Washington and those patriots of the Revolution, and in the solemn presence of the memories of those glorious men let us banish everything calculated to produce division among us, and unite as one man, with one heart and one soul and mind, and give all our counsels and exertions to the deliverance of our country, and to put down effectually this atrocious and most wicked rebellion. O, what a spectacle the Congress of the United States of America would then exhibit! O, that the Senator from Massachusetts, instead of introducing here, from day to day, petitions to usurp an unconstitutional power for the purpose of emancipating the slaves, had answered and said to those men who thus addressed him, "Peace, for the present. Let this question and all other questions of difference on this point among Union men sleep, sleep. We have enough to do to put down the common foe. Let us unite, without any diversity of counsel or of purpose, in this great and holy work, and when this infernal rebellion is disposed of effectually, when the Union is reconstructed and the country is at peace, then if you choose address me on the subject of slavery and send forward your petitions." But, sir, I do not make these remarks with any purpose of censure. I only make them for the purpose of expressing the reason of my head and the feeling of my own heart in relation to this matter. The gentleman assumes this broad position, that slavery was the cause of this rebellion. In my humble judgment it is but one of the remote, and not the greatest of the remote causes. It was not the immediate and exciting cause at all. . . . . Martial law is the mere will of a military commander! Is such a law to sweep away all the provisions of the Constitution? Such a law would be far worse than the bloody laws of Draco. Is the sublime edifice of the Constitution to fall—to tumble into ruins, when an army makes its appearance? Is a military commander to have the power to proclaim universal freedom to the slaves at his will? Such an idea is monstrous. He (Davis) was for putting down the rebellion, and, so far as could be, hanging its leaders. He said, in the name of justice, hang them, and let their property be forfeited to true and faithful men. He thought that this rebellion had many causes. If slavery had never been mentioned in the Halls of Congress there never would have been any rebellion. One of the causes of the rebellion was the admission into the Union of Texas. Another was attempting to force the Lecompton Constitution on Kansas. I am here, sir, as an humble member of this Senate. I am not here as a factionist or party man. But, sir, I am utterly opposed to this whole thing of Emancipation, and I hope to restore this Union and crush out this rebellion. Let them bring forward and sustain their measures for that. But let this alone. Let alone this thing of Emancipation till this war is closed with the reconstruction of the Union, and the assertion of the majesty of the Constitution and the law. Let us avoid anything that so much tends to prevent peace. Sir I was pained, inexpressibly pained, the other day, to hear the Senator from Iowa (Mr. Harlan) express his willingness to put arms in the hands of the slave. Let him refer to the history of that terrible insurrection in St. Domingo, the reading of which makes human nature shudder. I have seen myself men who were refugees from the servile insurrection in St. Domingo, and the living, glowing, horrid colors, in which they have painted those scenes, haunt my memory to this day. Go back to the first insurrection of the slaves near Richmond, which occurred many years ago, and see the horror which that created. What did England say when she had the prospect, and I believe the wish, to have a brush with the United States? Are we not permitted to arm the refugee slaves here in our midst, and put arms in their hands, and form them into regiments to invade the slave States? When the slaves come as invaders, with arms placed in their hands, it will be like letting the young tiger taste of blood. When he gets a taste, his savage fury will know no bounds, but will rave and rage as a demon from the infernal regions. I am acquainted with the negro race, sir. I was born among them. I was brought up with them. I played with them. They shared my joys and my sorrows, and I have shared with them theirs. I hold slaves now, and, next to my wife and my children, I would defend my slaves, and would guard them from all wrong. And I know that that is the universal sentiment of the slaveholders of my State. I wish you would go and see the institution there. There is no amount of money that would buy from me my faithful and contented slaves; and they are all so, so far as I know. I have not seen a slave chastised for twenty years, and it is a rare occurrence that it is ever heard of in my own State. They are clothed well—fed well. They are housed well. They have every attention of the most skillful physicians that is given the members of the white family. In the midst of cholera, pestilence, and death, their owners stand by them and share the malaria and infection with them. I have seen it done again and again. Indeed, I may say that I have performed such duty myself, without any regard to consequences. I would do it again. Now, sir, it is this perpetual agitation which has brought about this rebellion. I admit that slavery has been one of the causes—a remote cause, but a pretty powerful one. Gentlemen in the cotton States with their slaves have amassed fortunes, and many of them have princely revenues of thousands of dollars, and this wealth has begotten crime and insolence and ambition, and these foibles of the Southern character have been displayed most insultingly in the Halls of Congress. But in these Southern States, in many of these families, are some of the truest gentlemen, in the highest sense of the word, that I have ever known, and some of the purest statesmen. But I admit that, as a class, the wealthy cotton-growers are insolent, proud, domineering and ambitious. They have monopolized this government for the last forty years, and when they saw the sceptre about to depart from them in the election of Lincoln, sooner than submit to give up the government, its offices and its spoils, in their mad and wicked ambition they determined to overthrow the government and build up another. But there are also men in the Northern States who have always agitated this subject. There are also honest men, who, while they are opposed to slavery, are willing to give to the slaveholder all his constitutional rights. But what are the opinions of these extreme Northern men—these fanatics? They aver that the Constitution is a union with death and hell, and they have become so base, that they even execrate the name and memory of Washington. The great object and end of these fanatics is to secure the emancipation from slavery, and not to restore the Union. We want to restore the Union as Washington made it, but we do not want Congress to inaugurate and consummate a servile revolution. No. Let Congress do its duty in this war, faithfully and fearlessly, as the people are doing theirs. They have come up to the rescue of the government as no people have ever done before. From the East and the West, especially from the free States, they are as one man. Kentucky has been invaded, and the Confederate government has avowed that they will have Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri. They proclaimed when they invaded Kentucky, that Kentucky was necessary to the Southern Confederation, and they would have it at the cost of blood and conquest. I am for meeting them, sir, with the sword, and fighting them even to extermination, until we beat them back, for they have profaned our soil. Our brothers from the North-West States have come to our rescue with a generosity and a devotion for which they deserve and have our admiration and our gratitude. Never, never, were more welcome visitors to any country. They have come among us and have seen our institutions. We have become acquainted with each other and have learned to know each other more intimately. They have begun to marry our daughters, and we have sent our sons to marry their daughters. Let us establish thus a union of hearts and of hands that will last forever. Kentucky has peopled many of the North-Western States, and they are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, and we would much rather have a union with those North-Western States than with those far-off, distant States. There never was a war in the early history of those States in which Kentucky has not sent forth her brave sons, who have poured out their blood in the defence of our common country in those States, and oh, how nobly and fully and truly are they now paying the debt. They have come to protect the State which had protected them in bygone years, and oh what meetings there were! I have been in their camps, have mingled with their officers and their soldiers, and addressed their regiments, and they have made me honorary member of those regiments. I know the commanders of those regiments, and as nine to one they have expressed to me that their purpose and their only purpose in waging war was the restoration of the Union, and the vindication of the government, and not a war upon slavery. Thus writes one of them to me: "As an Indianian and a member of the army of the United States, I cannot fail to express my satisfaction at the just and conservative course you have pursued on the slavery question. Indiana is not fighting for the emancipation of slaves, but for the restoration of law and order, and when that shall have been accomplished, our mission is ended. In all the officers and soldiers of the 10th Indiana I do not know one Abolitionist. If Congress would legislate for the white man, and let the negro alone, it would be better." Oh, how much better it would be. That is the distinction of true patriotism of mind and heart, and that is the utterance which nine-tenths of the soldiery of the North-West speak, and will speak forever. If at the outset you had proclaimed that this was to be a war upon slavery, you would not have had one-fourth of the force in the field that you now have. You are Senators, and you are supposed to act, not from passion, but from reason, patriotism, right, truth and eternal justice. If you will act upon those principles, I am not afraid to trust you. But, Mr. President, these fanatics, these political and social demons, your Beechers, your Cheevers, your Phillipses, and your Garrisons, come here breathing pestilence from Pandemonium, trying to destroy the Union, so as to secure over its broken fragments the emancipation of slaves. They oppose Mr. Lincoln, as honest and pure a man as ever lived, because he stands by the Constitution, and is opposed to interfering with slavery. The utterances they have dared to put forth in this city have desecrated the Smithsonian Institution. If the secessionists had dared to give expression to the same utterances they would have been sent, and properly sent, to Fort Layfayette or Fort Warren. What will you do with these monsters? I will tell you what I would do with them, and with that horrible monster Greeley, as they come sneaking around here, like hungry wolves, after the destruction of slavery. If I had the power, I would take them and the worst seceshers and hang them in pairs [laughter]. I wish to God I could inflict that punishment upon them. It would be just. They are the disunionists. They are the madmen who are willing to call up all the passions of the infernal regions, and all the horrors of a servile war. This they would carry out over the disjected fragments of a broken Constitution to obtain their unholy purposes, and I am too fearful that the Hon. Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Sumner) sympathizes with them [laughter]. Mr. Davis then apologized for detaining the Senate so long. He spoke of the President as an honest, intelligent man, who ought to suppress these pestilent men who distract his counsels and neutralize his efforts to carry on the war.

SPEECH OF MR. JAMES HARLAN.

MR. PRESIDENT, I do not intend to reply in detail to the somewhat extraordinary speech that has just closed, for two reasons satisfactory to myself. In the first place, I should hardly hope to equal the eloquence and learning that have been displayed; and in the second place, I agree too fully with many things that have been said to make it necessary for me to attempt a detailed response to the speech. I will say, however, and I trust the Senator will pardon me for the allusion, that it does seem to me that the whole speech has been a little ill-timed, and especially that part of the speech which makes it necessary for me to say one word. The Senator has expressed the hope that the unending slavery question may not agitate this body and the country; and yet, extraordinary as it may seem in connection with that expression, he himself has unnecessarily detained the Senate and retarded the public business of the country for more than an hour in the discussion of that very question. Sir, what is the question now before the Senate? The propriety or the impropriety of retaining as a member of this body the sitting Senator from Indiana. Now, I ask what pertinency to that question has been the whole speech which has occupied the Senate for more than two hours to-day? I make this remark, not for the purpose, not with the desire of chiding the Senator who has taken his seat, but I wish the Senator to bear me witness here, and the country to take notice of the fact, that every long, labored, excited discussion of the slavery question that has taken place in this Chamber for the last six years, during which I have had the honor to occupy a seat here, has been lugged in in that manner, and by gentlemen holding seats from slaveholding States.

Mr. DAVIS—Will the gentleman allow me to say a word?

Mr. HARLAN—Certainly.

Mr. DAVIS—I confess to the gentleman's impeachment that a great part of my speech was inappropriate; but it was designed in some measure to meet the numerous petitions that have been presented by the Senator from Massachusetts, and other gentlemen upon this floor.

Mr. HARLAN—I will, however, Mr. President, while I am on the floor, and before I allude to the proper question of discussion, attempt to set myself right on the point alluded to by the Senator. When I made the remarks to which he evidently alluded, this body was entertaining and considering Senate joint resolution No. 29, which proposes to authorize the commander of the army in the Western Division, including Kansas, to muster into the United States service such persons as may present themselves for that purpose, and organize them therefor, and to retain them therein such length of time as in the opinion of such commander the exigencies of the service may require. This was opposed on the ground that the commander of that division of the army might, using his personal discretion, muster into the service of the United States Indians and persons of African descent. I expressed myself in favor of the proposition, and in reply to some remarks dropped by the Senator from Delaware (Mr. Saulsbury), I stated that I, individually, had no objection to mustering into the service of the United States men of color, either Indians or negroes, and I attempted, in a few brief remarks, to illustrate my view on that subject. I stated that I could perceive no reason why an able-bodied man, native-born in the United States, should not aid in defending the Constitution and the laws. Nor do I now perceive a reason why this should not be done. I know it is said, in language pathetic and eloquent: "What! arm the slaves against their masters?" I might make a truthful appeal still more startling, and ask: "What! arm the children against their fathers?" And yet that is being done by your mustering officers every day where the father chances to be a traitor and a rebel. Are you not to permit the young men of the country to arm themselves in defence of the Constitution and the laws, because their parents happen to be traitors? You exercise the right to take my son under the age of twenty-one years and place him between your violated Constitution and the country's foes, regardless of my rights to his service or to the control of his person. Now, I ask the Senator from Kentucky, what better is his slave than my son.

Mr. DAVIS—Not half so good.

Mr. HARLAN—I will illustrate what I mean on this subject by supposing that the Senator, with some of his well-taught and Christain slaves, was engaged in a personal contest for life and death between me and my son. As we gradually become exhausted on the one side and the other, I, knowing full well that the moment I give his slaves the intimation that I would protect them, they would flee from their master to my defense, should I be much short of an idiot, much short of a fool, if I were not to invite them away? The loyal States of this nation are now engaged in a contest for its very existence. On the one side, we have arrayed the loyal old men, and middle-aged men of the country. On the other side, we have the rebel owners of slaves arraying their young men and their slaves. On the other there are some hundreds of thousands of colored people, native born on the soil on which they live, who will leave their rebel masters the very moment they have an intimation that they will receive the protection of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and yet we insanely continue this controversy, not permitting these strong, armed men to aid us and save the lives of our brothers and our sons. But the Senator from Kentucky said that he thought on this subject with horror when he reflected that massacres had occurred of white people in some of the West India Islands. Mr. President, oppressed people in every age, in asserting their right to themselves have committed acts of atrocity that civilized communities could never justify. It is no more common to the African race than to the Anglo-Saxon or the Caucasian of whatever country. I will ask him, with his perfect knowledge of history, to compare the scenes of carnage and blood enacted there with those enacted but a few years since in the streets of Paris, the capital of one of the most enlightened and refined nations that have existed, and which at this time stands at the very head of the civilized nations of the world. The proposition which was made, to which I was speaking, was a proposition to allow the commander of this division of the army, to muster into the service of the United States such loyal persons as might present themselves, irrespective of color. What does that imply? That they shall be organized, that they shall be officered, that they shall be commanded, that they shall be controlled by the laws of the United States and by the articles of war. I took some pains to state on that occasion that I would not advocate a proposition to arm indiscriminately the mass of the servile population even in the rebel States, but that if arms were placed in their hands they should be organized, disciplined, and placed under the ordinary restraints of military rule. I have no criticism to make in relation to the Senator's eulogium of the peacable condition of his own slaves, other than this: If they are of the character which he has described, and have been ever ready to stand by him and their masters in times of pestilence and danger—if that statement of the character of his own slave household be correct, I draw the conclusion that the alarm of the Senator is totally without foundation. If they are thus Christianized, are thus enlightened, and will stand by their masters through every kind of calamity that can arise, what will be the danger of placing them in an attitude not only to defend themselves but their masters and their country? But, sir, all this eulogium of the character of the houses and clothing of the slaves, if it were a legitimate subject of discussion at this time, I take it, might be said with equal truth of the Senator's horses and cattle, and oxen and mules. I would ask him if he treats his slaves as men? I would ask him if he treats them as men, possessing spirits immortal, that are to live parallel with his own spiritual existence, and if he gives them the means of mental cultivation and moral development, or if it be not in his own State, with his sanction, a penitentiary offence to teach these slaves to read the words of God? They are well housed, so are his horses. They are well clothed, so would be his cattle if necessary to their health and vigor. They are tenderly treated, so is every other species of live property that is under his control. The question, however, with me, is not how this Christian gentleman or the other may happen to treat those over whom he may exercise absolute control, but what is the system? How may he with impunity treat those human cattle, if he chose to treat them with severity? I will venture here to throw in the remark, and risk its being successfully contradicted, that there is not now in existence, and has not been in existence, since the dawning of civilization, a system of slavery so bad as the one now in existence in the United States. There never has existed, and does not now exist, a system of human bondage on this whole earth so loathsome as the one that now exists in the bosom of this Christian Nation. And I defy successful contradiction. I do not say that Christian gentlemen may not, regardless of the law and regardless of the system, treat their slaves humanely. They do, I know they do, I am proud to say that I know they do. But it is a tribute to humanity and to the influence of Christianity on the minds of men and not a tribute to the system of slavery itself. I unite very cordially with the Senator in his expression of the hope that these collateral outside questions may not be discussed, and that we may unite harmoniously for the purpose of putting down this rebellion, and I trust that he may be willing out of the abundance of his patriotism even to give his slaves to the cause of the Union if it becomes necessary, and not be giving the weight of his influence and of his talent—which is by no means small—unintentionally on his part, to the cause of the rebellion. If any speech delivered during this session of the Congress of the United States shall see the light in the rebel States, it will be the speech which the Senator from Kentucky has just concluded, and thus has he, very unintentionally on his part, neutralized much that he has said of the policy and bearing of the Senator from Indiana, during the earlier part of this rebellion, which he has so severely criticised.

A PHASE OF THE BARBARISM OF SLAVERY.

Correspondence of The New York Times.

PORT ROYAL, Friday, Dec., 20, 1861.

A DAY or two ago I wandered over the opposite island, using the time with Charcoal and Friday in familiar talks and pertinent inquiry. In my travels I met most decidedly the oldest pair of human beings, husband and wife, I ever saw; bent almost double, and singularly frail and thin, with lines of age carved in each lineament; knotted and notched in long, bony arms and fingers, with weak and tremulous bodies. The sad facial lines evidenced a life of despondence and weary labor—"No rest, massa, all work all de time; plenty to eat, but no *rest*, no repose; *so* glad we got chance for little comfort." The almost boundless plantation, complete in every needful thing for life here, well tilled, and once full of stores of provisions, proved it. Stout black fellows, erect and kingly in their new gotten liberty, allowed the mother, whose every step was marked with pain, to lean on their shoulders with affection as tender as a high civilization engenders. I was led into a dark sty of a place, and was informed that a couch was there, and on it a woman sick unto death, if despairing groans that issued therefrom told this. I could not see the poor victim of misfortune and woe, for darkness was not visible. Alleviating medicines were sought with polite courtesies and pulling of the wool at the forehead. These poor creatures left alone in sickness, illustrate the barbarism of slavery in bold lines. They had just buried a relative and were alarmed at the prospect, for they have a superstitious horror of death, and lonely enough was their condition. They have been accustomed to lean in filial confidence on the aid of their masters in sickness, who from fear of loss, give them great attention at those times, and soothe them with condolence, from a selfish self-interest, as they return more cheerfully to work. The ordinary necessities of life, such as tea, coffee and sugar, were not with them, though corn and other cereals were plenty. One was grinding corn between two stones, such as were fashionable in the days once written of, when "two shall be grinding in the field—one shall be taken and the other left,"—together with many other instruments of an older age—the first ages, whose records are only biblical—such as I have noticed in the Eastern world, amongst a stranger people, and a wider and more primitive habit. The yoking of oxen across the horns, as is the custom in Cuba, among the Guinea negroes, shows the African peculiarity, handed down and brought across the middle passage. The language used by them is scarcely translatable into English, so entirely is it African, and so rapid in utterance.

Their civilities were as polished as the servants of a nobility practice, showing the culture of respectability in their old master's family, and were manifested in many striking ways. We should pronounce their "bringing up" good, and their unqualified obsequiousness, recollections of the lash. There is a settled awe in the unsettled eye, that comments forcibly on the position they are in; ready to break into a joyous flood when the agony of uncertainty is over and their destiny made known.

It is manifestly true, the dreams of years with them have been but idle fancy, building ecstatic castles on a far off shore, where dwell boundless pleasure and eternal freedom, while now these dreams of the soul are wreathed in all the freshness and joy of fruition, for they are liberated for a time. The creations of enslaved minds, dwelling on liberty through a cycle of existence, now born in a day through the cannon's mouth at Port Royal, are more than was expected in this world, more than they can analyze, or express, or properly entertain. And the condition they are now in assumes this. If they knew nothing of what was going on, would they not have fled with their masters as before a common calamity or judgment coming? Did instinct, that gave the masters speed, glue them fast to the soil of forcible adoption or birth? They must have known all about it—the whole story—and ought to know it, even if we admit the Deity permitted an informing spirit to descend around the lowly hut, and enter the darkened mind with its light.

Scarcely a slave but feelingly acknowledges the Higher Power in it all, and when you talk to them of liberty (for I assume *these* will never taste slavery again), they involuntarily raise their eyes to the heavens above and courtesy most profoundly, and then salute you with deep emotion as an instrument concerned in their deliverance. Those preferring to remain with or return to the master do so because of family ties, or because of compulsion. When I see twenty pair of eyes sparkle and moisten when liberty is mentioned, I know they love liberty, remained behind to get liberty, and will be dreadfully disappointed, and go mourning the rest of their cloudy days, if the two or three weeks of the luxurious revel is all the law will allow. WANDERER.

SPEECH OF THADDEUS STEVENS.

[In the U. S. House of Representatives, recently, THADDEUS STEVENS, the venerable Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, made a speech instinct with the spirit of liberty, from which we copy as follows:]

Now is the appropriate time to solve the greatest problem ever submitted to civilized man. From the foundation of Babylon to 1776, it was asserted that people were incapable of self-government, and that free republics could not exist—a widely-extended representative republic, controlled by universal suffrage. It was predicted with the utmost confidence that this republic would be overthrown from internal dissensions, and a want of strength in the central power. Eighty years of unexampled prosperity and loyalty to the Union seemed to belie these predictions; but the unhallowed ambition of infamous traitors is now concurring with the wish of the prophets of despotism to accomplish their predictions. Ours is the painful but glorious task of refuting this argument of tyrants, and this attempt of unholy rebels. If we conquer this dreadful issue, it will accomplish benefits that will compensate for all our government has lost. This is not a light task, nor can it be accomplished without the loss of thousands of valuable lives and millions of money. The rebels are proud, haughty, and obstinate. They believe that they are born to command. They declare that they will suffer their homes to be laid in ruins before they submit. That issue must be accepted. Better lay their whole country waste than to suffer the nation to be murdered. Better depopulate them, and plant a new race of freemen on their desolated and deserted fields, than suffer this rebellion to triumph. Such is the voice of the free people of the North. Nor shall there be, if our rulers be equal to the task, any truce until every rebel shall have laid down his arms and submitted to the government. The people are humane, and this is humanity. Honor, manhood, national and personal pride—to say nothing of patriotism—forbid that either party should yield except under the most overwhelming necessity. If the government submits to the rebels, it loses its character, and ceases to be a Power among the nations of the earth. How, then, and when, will this war end? In other words, how can the South be wholly exhausted? It will not end until the government shall more fully comprehend the magnitude of the crisis, in which one party or the other must be reduced to hopeless feebleness, and the power of future efforts shall be utterly annihilated. This is a sad but true alternative. The South can never be reduced to that condition so long as this war is prosecuted on its present principles—so long as they are left the means of cultivating their fields through forced labor. You may expend the blood of tens of thousands of free men, and millions of money year after year, without being any nearer the end, unless you reach it by your own submission. Their domestic institutions give them great advantages in war. They know that, and do not withdraw a single hand from the cultivation of the soil. Their white men can be spared for the army, old and infirm can oversee the slaves, and all their industrial pursuits can go on uninterrupted. Although the black man never lift a weapon, he is really the main stay of the war. To end this war successfully and promptly, therefore, the slaves must be made our allies. Universal emancipation must be proclaimed. Then would this war cease in six months. It could not be maintained, even if the liberated slaves should not lift a hand against their masters. Their fields would no longer produce the means by which they sustain the war, and unconditional submission would be the immediate and necessary result. Which is most to be abhorred, a rebellion of slaves fighting for their liberty, or a rebellion of freemen fighting to murder the nation? But it will be said that the Constitution does not authorize Congress to interfere with slavery in the States. That is true, so long as the Constitution and the laws are supreme, as in times of peace. But when the Constitution is repudiated and set at defiance by rebels too powerful to be put down by peaceful means, the Constitution grants a supplementary power which it was impossible to define. The Constitution says that "the President shall take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed," and creates him for the time of emergency as much a dictator as a decree of the Roman Senate, whose dictators exercised all proper power necessary for the public safety, whether the means were inscribed on their tables or not. This power, of course, ought to exist only until Congress could be convened. This power I would willingly confer rather than the nation should perish. Rather than see the nation dishonored by compromise, concession or submission—rather than see the nation dishonored, or see one star stricken from its banner, I would confer that power now. Oh, for six months resurrection in the flesh of stern Old Jackson! He, in this crisis, would abolish slavery, as the tower and support of this insurrection. But it would arm the free people of color, as he did at New Orleans. He would march into the heart of slavedom, not to pick cotton and open the ports for trade, but to put weapons into every freed man's hands. He would end the war by a wholesome hanging of the leaders. In three months, with 100,000 soldiers, he would put down the rebellion. The necessity of a dictatorship is evident to snatch the nation from the jaws of death. May this necessity never again arise, for it is as fearful as the insurrection of Jeff. Davis and Beauregard. The one is the greatest for good, the other for mischief. The power is given to suppress the rebellion, hence, also the power of emancipation, even if the Constitution were silent on this power, and it became necessary for the safety of the people. The first law of nature would give it. It would be asked, why liberate the slaves of all instead of confining it to those of rebels only? There would be great difficulty in executing such a law. Perjury, fraud and falsehood, would screen half the guilty. Our object should be, not only to end this terrible war, but to prevent its recurrence. Slavery is the cause of it. Hatch up a compromise now, and leave this germ of evil behind, and it will soon again overrun the whole South. Even if you freed three-fourths of the slaves, you would have expended countless treasures and untold lives in vain. I would do no injustice to loyal men, and though not recognizing the right of one man to hold another as mere property, I would treat loyal slaveholders fairly by pledging the faith of the nation for their compensation. The war is now costing at the rate of five hundred million a year. Deduct the price of the slaves in the border States from one year's expense of the war, and it would show a balance in favor of emancipation of four hundred and forty million. Manumit the slaves, and the war would end in six months. Leave them to the rebels, and I doubt if six years will end it. Six years, with slavery, and a debt of two billion! All nations have used emancipation as a legitimate means of warfare. Hannibal liberated the slaves of Rome, and used them against their masters. When Virginia rebelled against England Lord Dunmore issued a proclamation offering freedom to those slaves belonging to rebel masters who should join the troops at Yorktown. Many hundreds joined him, and fought bravely. Manumission would be merciful, while, at the same time, I admit it to be the most terrible weapon in our armory. Is that an argument against its use? Instruments of war are not selected on account of their harmlessness. You choose the best cannon and deadliest arms, but you object to emancipation because it liberates the slaves of traitors. Tender-hearted Christians, merciful statesmen, benevolent philanthropists! Let the people know that this government is fighting not only to enforce a sacred compact, but to carry out to final perfection the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Let the sword go forth in one hand and the book of freedom in the other, and the army will soon sweep despotism and rebellion from every corner of this continent. Thus would a benign Providence bring incalculable good out of this mighty evil. What an opportunity is presented to this republic to vindicate her consistency and become immortal. The occasion is forced upon us, and the invitation presented to strike the chains from four million of human beings and create them men, to extinguish slavery on this whole continent, wipe out the most hateful and infernal blot that ever disgraced the escutcheon of man, and to write a page on the history of the world whose brightness shall eclipse all the records of heroes and sages. This is the work before us.

BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

MINE eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword:
His truth is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling camps;
They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I have read His righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:
His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel:
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal;
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on."

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment-seat:
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant my feet!
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me:
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

—*Atlantic Monthly.*

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN A. BINGHAM.

[In the U. S. House of Representatives Jan. 15, Hon. JOHN A. BINGHAM, of Ohio, made an admirable speech in favor of the confiscation of the property of rebels and the emancipation of the slaves; showing that Congress has the right, under the powers of war, to do all this for the salvation of the country. We give an extract:]

SIR, if by a legislative act, forfeiting all property and liberating all slaves of these rebels, their aiders and abettors, you can diminish the burdens of the loyal people, strengthen your arms, and weaken the enemy, then is such legislation necessary and an imperative duty. Upon my oath I dare not withhold my assent from such legislation. By no act of mine can I consent that there shall be any unnecessary burdens imposed upon the loyal citizen, or any unnecessary sacrifice of their lives in this struggle. I know that the loyal and good are ready to give all their substance to the support of the cause of the government. I know your citizen soldiers are ready to give up life for their country. I know that those who bade them go, and invoked God's blessing upon their going, and await with trembling solicitude their triumph and honorable return, will submit, if need be, without a murmur to that greatest of all sacrifice, which will to them forever break the charmed circle of home, and forever change to them the beauty of earth and the imagery of heaven. If by law you can soften the burdens of the people, or save to any extent the precious lives of your soldiers, every man here, I trust, would be for it.

Pass your laws liberating the 4,000,000 slaves held by the rebels, and thereby break every unjust yoke in that rebel region; and let the oppressed go free, in obedience to that command which comes to us as a voice out of heaven, "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." Do you say this is fanaticism? Do you say God was a fanatic when he commanded it, and that the fathers of the Republic were fanatics when they adopted it as the sign under which they should conquer, and burned it with fire into the very bell whose iron tongue summoned them to the stern work of resistance?

Sir, if such a law be passed it is said it will not be effective. Why not effective? Can you not enjoin upon the commanding officer of your army the execution of a general law of confiscation and liberation, in the same manner that by the law of 1806 the duty is now enjoined upon him to *secure* for the public use the public stores of the enemy taken in his camps, forts, magazines, and towns, and for the *neglect* of which such commanding officer shall be answerable. [Fifty-eighth Article of War.]

But it is said such a law will not, as to the rebels' slaves, be effective. Why not? Is it because the knowledge of the fact cannot reach these slaves? Pass your law simply declaring them freemen, and that they shall, if they fly to your standard, receive the protection of your army, and the joyful news will in ten days reach every slave in the Republic, by means of that human telegraph whose living network overlies every slave plantation, and is woven of the lacerated heart-strings of the victims of this infernal atrocity. Will not your law be effective if passed and communicated to the slave? Why not? Is it because he prefers slavery to freedom—the bondage of death to the glorious liberty of the sons of God? No, sir, there is no slave in this land, not reft of his reason by the providence of God or by the torture of oppression, who would not hail your statute of deliverance as the very gift of life. Though he is a slave he is still a man; and however ignorant and debased, however closely imprisoned in that thick darkness which may be felt, and which only falls upon those from whom tyranny shuts out the light, his hope for liberty as his right is not and cannot be extinguished, for it is allied to his hope of immortality, and is bound up with the elements of his soul, which cannot but by annihilation die.

Pass your law, proclaim it at the head of your army, execute it summarily by allowing these unwilling supporters of the rebellion to escape from their masters through your lines and receive your protection in return for their loyalty; and these children of oppression will make such an exodus from the house of their bondage as the world has not seen since that exodus of God's people which the dark-eyed daughters of Israel celebrated in that sublime song:

"The Lord hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

Pass this law, require its faithful execution by your army, and the rebellion must cease, or its authors, its aiders and abettors perish for bread. Do this, and crown yourselves with the immortal honor of giving liberty to one portion of our people and the serene blessings of peace to another. It is said that upon such statute of liberation, and by reason of its enactment, these slaves will rise in insurrection. To say this is to libel human nature in its lowest estate. Gratitude is inseparable from the human heart in every condition of life, in every zone of the earth's surface. To shiver the fetters which bind in cruel bondage the souls of men will not excite in them hatred or anger or revenge, but will attune the heart to the sweet melody of virtue, and inspire their hymns of thanksgiving to their deliverers.

Sir, if after your enactment of this statute of liberation, the slaves of these rebel masters rise in insurrection, it will not be because by your law they are declared freemen, but because their traitor masters, in defiance of your law, continue to deny them their liberty. A slave insurrection, however much to be deplored, would neither weaken your arms nor strengthen those of your rebel enemy. Whoever urges, therefore, such objection to this needful and just legislation, must, whether conscious of it or not, assume that rebels who, without colorable excuse, wage a cruel and exterminating war against their fellow-citizens, should not be deprived by the government, against which they have revolted, of the means by which they may make their rebellion a success, and without which they must ignominiously fail.

Pass this just and beneficent law as an act of justice to the slave; pass it as an act of justice to your country; pass it as an act of justice to your brave army of loyal citizen soldiers who stand this hour between you and the armed terrors of treason in the capital; pass it and crush this slave rebellion at once, and thereby make a like rebellion for a like object forever impossible in the Republic. I put the question to Representatives, is the alleged property of these rebels in four million of slaves, and in their lands and crops, goods, monies, and chattels, more sacred than the lives of your soldiers and the life of your country? May God hide from my eyes and from the eyes of my children the day when the dying agony of my country shall begin. By no act of ours, either of omission or commission, may we contribute to that direst and blackest crime which can be committed by any people—the crime of national suicide. Who does not know that he who has the power to prevent the crime of self-destruction and withholds or refuses its exercise, and thereby prevents the deed, is himself a murderer? Why, I ask, in the name of eternal justice, should the people's treasure be expended at the rate of $2,000,000 a day, and the people themselves be mangled and maimed and murdered by these rebels, rather than end the sacrifice of treasure and of blood by a sublime act of justice which will give liberty to the slave, relief to the people, stability to the Constitution, peace to a distracted country, and make the Republic what its illustrious founders intended it to be, a temple for the "perpetual residence of an inviolable justice," a refuge for the oppressed, and a sacred sanctuary for the rights of mankind?

INTERESTING FACTS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Friday, Jan. 24, 1862.

A FEW more letters on the Trent affair are expected from other foreign Powers; the whole correspondence will then be published in a neat volume, probably by special vote, including Senator Sumner's speech, and the volume, it is supposed, will be the most valuable contribution on the subject of International Maritime Law in existence.

CHURCHES.

Many of the Churches are languishing on account of their divisions upon the Union question. Trinity Church has been decimated, and Dr. Butler is only supported there by contributions from Sunday to Sunday, there being no definite contract for salary. A Methodist presiding Elder told me that a single word in favor of the Union is regarded as "preaching politics," and a prayer for the President, which he made at one of his quarterly meetings in Prince George, produced a dangerous excitement. Thus the moth and rust are beginning to corrupt the treasures which compromising Churches laid up on earth.

A HARD CASE.

I met in the Ante-room at the White House a very talented and well-informed Unionist from Florida, who owned a hundred slaves and several thousand acres of land, and who had through many difficulties gained Washington. His papers were endorsed by the Vice-President of the United States. He had been at the White House for twenty days in succession, and had not been able to get his card in to the President! He said that he knew about three Unionists in the neighborhood of Talahassee, and they all believed it would be impossible to check this rebellion until its cause was destroyed.

GEN. FREMONT.

I saw the General to-day, looking as bright and earnest as when I saw him here seven years ago—saving a slight sprinkling of gray in hair and beard. His interest in the cause is undiminished—he bates not one jot of heart or hope. He stands ready for the word of command, which will not be long in coming. The President has never spoken of

To Sambo a regiment is "tousands ob dem," and a few guns grow marvelously numerous as his tale is oftener told. But, due allowance being made—with some of the most intelligent and observing very little is necessary—the negroes can be, and have been, made a great help to us in our movements.

I am told that one of our most prominent officers has frequently declared that he has relied much on the information brought by our dark-skinned friends, and has not found it at fault with ascertained facts. In this particular expedition to Port Royal Ferry, they saved us by their warning statements from an ambush concocted by the rebels, and besides this gave other information in regard to the character of the country, the routes, the movements of the enemy, their force, their intentions, which ought to make every officer and soldier grateful to them as useful and reliable friends, for by means of it many lives were saved, and greater precision and boldness were secured to our movements.

I assure you, it is much for an army in a hostile country to have the help of the strong arms and shrewd observation of a large class of the population. While white men have fled before us like foxes, only taking breath to curse and malign us, the black men have stayed to be our friends. Surely these poor fellows have earned in their services to the Union the right to their freedom. They—the house-servants, particularly—have heard their masters' dinner-talk, and their apparently dull ears have been quick to catch details of intended movements. So from them, coming with bundles in hand to our lines, we can learn the spirit of the rebel people, as well as their devices against us. Surely, we ought to receive them with kindness, and reward their friendship.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE ALBANY CONVENTION.

OUR readers—such of them especially as reside in this State—are reminded that the Sixth Annual New York State Anti-Slavery Convention, the official call for which has been heretofore published in our columns, will be held in ALBANY, in ASSOCIATION HALL, on FRIDAY and SATURDAY, Feb. 7th and 8th, commencing at 10½ o'clock, a. m. Three sessions will be held each day.

It would seem almost superfluous, at the present critical juncture, to urge upon the friends of the cause in the Empire State the importance of a numerous attendance at this Convention. Never was there greater need that Abolitionists, who have borne the heat and burden of the conflict with slavery for so many years, should meet together for earnest consultation in regard to the measures necessary to be adopted to secure the triumph of their cause. Let them gather, then, from every part of the State, in a spirit worthy of the hour, and with a fixed determination to perform any labor and make any sacrifice that may be required to bring the People and the Government to see that the salvation of the country from the perils that environ it depends upon the emancipation of the slaves.

Among the speakers who will address the Convention are WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, BERIAH GREEN, PARKER PILLSBURY, Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN, AARON M. POWELL, and others.

LAST YEAR AND THIS.

WE could not but consider, when attending the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at Boston, last week, what mighty changes the year which has elapsed since the last one was held, a twelvemonth since, had brought forth. The volcano of civil war which is now in full blast was then heaving and bellowing, emitting from time to time admonitory puffs of smoke, warning all within its reach of the fiery outburst which we are now witnessing. Happily, moral as well as volcanic eruptions have their beneficent as well as their destructive aspects, and general and ultimate good is educed from partial and immediate evil. The long smouldering passions of men, like the impatient central fires, demand the vent of a fierce outbreak, and though many lives may be lost and much injury inflicted, the world is the better for the relief thus found, in the end. But there is this material difference between the moral and the material explosions, that the central fires which blaze up from the mouths of Vesuvius and Hecla are guided by the wisdom that rules the universe, and are utterly beyond the reach and control of mortal agency, whereas the passions of men which flame out into war are within the power of those to whom they are given for good purposes and wise ends, and may be made the agents of beneficence instead of destruction. And it is the business of the true statesman, as well as of the wise moralist, so to guide men and so to arrange affairs as to save them from the risks and from the mischiefs resulting from the sway and sweep of their stormy passions.

But to return to the last year and the Massachusetts A. S. Society as a measure of the changes since then. It was the occasion of the fullest proof of the existence of a secret conspiracy, extending widely through the free States, to secure the domination of the Slave Power, in one form or another, over the whole country. Most of the States, if not all, now in rebellion, had already seceded. Jefferson Davis was at the head of the sedition. Nearly two months remained, during which the control of affairs would remain in the feeble if not treacherous hands of James Buchanan. A system of terrorism was organized throughout the free States to crush out of existence all antagonism to slavery, and to awe the quiet portion of the community into submission to whatever terms the minority might demand as the price of their forgiveness of the majority. As a proof of this, no Anti-Slavery Meeting could be held for months previous in the rural districts and small cities of this State or of the Western States, without occasioning disturbances and riots more serious than had been known since the earlier days of the movement. In this city nothing but a Metropolitan police made it possible for Wendell Phillips to be heard; while in Boston his life was openly sought, in the broad light of successive Sundays, as a sweet-smelling sacrifice to the obscene idol to which it seemed as if the nation was joined. The meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society there was broken up by a howling and bloody-minded mob, virtually countenanced by the Mayor of the city, while the Republican Executive of the State cowered before it and hid itself. These treasonable movements—for such they were, being in avowed support of open treason—were organized and directed by a secret society, whose meetings were advertised by a cut of a bundle of sticks and a date without a name—the last of which appeared on the Wednesday after Sumter. It was the expectation of these miscreants, as it was the intention of the Secessionists, that the inauguration of President Lincoln would be prevented, that Washington would be taken possession of by their partisans, that Philadelphia, New York and Boston would rise in the same behalf, and that the *coup d'état* would be completed by the substitution of Breckinridge or Davis for Lincoln, and the establishment of the Slave Power, by a packed Convention, without resort to the people, forever over the nation.

The patience and long suffering of the nation had given plausible reason for these opinions. The very Abolitionists, whose business it is to watch the signs of the times and mark the first footsteps of history, even they could not believe that there was as much red blood in the nation's heart as the boom of the first cannon at Sumter sent boiling through its veins. Mayor Wood and *The Herald* here, Mayor Wightman and *The Courier* in Boston, men of their sympathies and affinities everywhere, were as much astonished at finding themselves compelled, by the mere dint of moral force (with perhaps an intimation in some of their cases of its possibly taking a physical manifestation) into a posture of opposition to the slave-drivers, as the slave-drivers were themselves at this unprecedented attitude of their white chattels. They had not reckoned on the direction which even selfish interest would give to the wealthy and potential classes in the great cities, especially, as soon as the slave-drivers had committed the overt act of treason which made war unavoidable. The very principle which made them willing to make every concession to slavery that its partisans could demand, if they would only keep the peace, and even content that Abolitionists should be mobbed and exterminated, if necessary to the result, taught them instinctively that nothing but the reduction and punishment of the rebels could make them safe in their possessions under a constitutional government. Hence the rising when the news of Sumter came, which trampled into silence if not into annihilation the privy conspiracy at the North, and disconcerted all their well-laid schemes. And along with this, we are willing to admit, there was a feeling of outraged national honor and sensibility to the insult offered to the national flag, which gave harmony and enthusiasm to that sublime uprising.

The twelve short months since we recorded the outrages offered to free speech in Boston have been full of history. We admit that this history has not been written with that beam of celestial light which would have glorified its bloody characters and canonized every man fallen in the battles it records as a martyr. Suffering has not yet taught the people or the government that Rebellion cannot be crushed and fostered by the same hand. President Lincoln still thinks that Christ and Belial, Liberty and Slavery, can be made to agree together in an equal Union. His generals and soldiers can be no better than their chief, and, consequently, their best successes have been of scarcely better consequence than their worst defeats. Still, there is this vast difference between this January and last. The North is embarked as one man against the South. Though pro-slavery sympathy with the Slave-drivers' Rebellion exists, it is no longer rampant. Of this the late Massachusetts Meeting, from which we set out, is an example. That Society, from which all other Anti-Slavery Societies sprung, never held a better or more quiet meeting. Its sessions were always full, and the speeches which occupied them of the highest order for excellence and thoroughness. The only attempt at interruption came from a young Irish Lieutenant in Cass's Regiment, who sought that field of glory to signalize his patriotism, and, with an Irishism truly delicious, selected as the occasion of his patriotic interposition the Obituary Resolutions on Mr. Jackson, the late President of the Society! It is but justice, however, to the lad to say that his discretion was equal to his valor, and that he was very easily suppressed. When the last year has produced such changes, what may we not hope from the next. Certainly Emancipation were no more wild a prophecy from the standpoint of this year, than the present state of things from that of the last. At any rate, we are assured that nothing which this year can bring forth—foreign interposition, foreign war, even, or a compelled recognition of the independence of the rebels—nothing can be so hopeless and desperate as the apparent condition and prospects of the country a twelvemonth since.

PERSONAL.

It is stated in a Washington dispatch to *The Evening Post* that Gen. Fremont, at his own request, is to have a regular military trial.

Theodore Tilton delivered his lecture on "The Latest Questions of the War" at Newtown, Bucks Co., on the 16th ult. It was received with much favor by a large audience.

John Brown, Jr., receives as recruits for the Kansas Brigade, able-bodied men, without inquiring the exact number of drops of Indian or African blood in their veins. Rash man! His brigade will hurt somebody if the War Department does not "modify" it.

Rev. M. D. Conway, at the earnest solicitation of friends of freedom in this city, is engaged to deliver a lecture, entitled "The Nation's Golden Hour," at the Church of the Puritans, on Thursday evening of this week. We go to press at too early an hour to give any report of the meeting.

Geo. E. Baker, Esq., a son of John Baker, Esq., of Dedham, and formerly High Sheriff of Norfolk County, Mass., is the author of the article on "Mr Seward's Diplomacy," in *The Continental Monthly*. Mr. Baker was at one time private Secretary to Mr. Seward, is his biographer, and now occupies a place in the State Department.

Mrs. Lucy Stone, the celebrated lecturer on Woman's Rights, who is residing with her husband and little daughter in Bloomfield, N. J., lately escaped what must have proved a fatal catastrophe, by removing her bed from a spot upon which the chimney of the house fell with crushing force during a severe storm of the succeeding night.

Mr. Henry J. Winser, correspondent of the New York *Times* at Port Royal, S. C., has been rudely and arbitrarily expelled from the camps by the military authorities, upon a charge of speaking disrespectfully of Gen. Sherman. Mr. Winser is a gentleman in the best sense of the word, and we have no doubt that he has been unjustly treated. His well-known anti-slavery opinions may, perhaps, have brought down upon him the hostility of the Provost-Marshal.

George Wm. Curtis delivered his lecture on "National Honor" in the regular course at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington on Friday evening last week. *The Times* correspondent says: "Of course, he spoke from the emancipation stand-point, and forcibly eliminated the theory that national honor was only to be truly attained by a steady, unswerving and unselfish enforcement of national justice. It was quite as ultra, and more polished, than any of the lectures heretofore read." The storm having deprived a large number of people of the opportunity of hearing Mr. Curtis, there was some talk of asking him to repeat his lecture, but the plan, for some reason not stated, did not succeed.

Rev. O. B. Frothingham's Sermon, "The Year's Record of Sadness and Gladness," published in a recent number of THE STANDARD, has attracted no little attention. It is copied, we see, into *The Christian Inquirer*. The Roxbury (Mass.) *Journal* says of it: "It strikes us as next to Rev. Dr. Putnam's Sermon, last spring, the ablest pulpit production the state of the times has yet elicited. The chastenings of the past year, and the blessings to grow out of them are depicted with a felicity of suggestion and an eloquence of style to which we scarcely know where to find a parallel. Mr. Frothingham, as a pulpit writer and an essayist, is, in our opinion, superior to any man of his age in America."

The Hutchinson Family were, it seems, more cordially received by President Lincoln than by the Generals of the Army across the Potomac. They were in the throng at the President's last levee. Says a correspondent of *The Evening Post*: "Taking both of John's hands, the President told him with what pleasure he remembered his singing in Springfield, Ill., and asked if he would sing for him the dramatic song, 'The Ship on Fire.' In a moment more, the great drawing-rooms were vocal with the rich melody of the Hutchinson voices. 'Only think,' said little Viola Hutchinson to me, with childish naiveté, 'after I was through N. P. Willis kissed my hand, and thanked me for the song. No one ever kissed my hand before, and you know he is such a lion.'"

The improved tone of *The Independent* is manifest in nothing so much as in its treatment of radical reformers. Here, for example, is a paragraph from that paper, which never could have found place in it under the former management:

"George Thompson, the well-known advocate of the anti-slavery cause, has been addressing great audiences in England on the present state of American affairs. His speeches, as we find them reported in the English papers, exhibit an admirable precision of statement, in remarkable contrast with the prevailing misrepresentations of the English press. His explanations of the workings of our government, of the relations of the Federal Executive to the States and the people, of the general tone of Northern sentiment both toward slavery and toward England, are all exceedingly accurate, appreciative, and eloquent. We honor the courage of the man who thus calmly opposes himself to the excitements of a whole nation for the sake of doing justice to a country three thousand miles away."

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, on Thursday and Friday of last week, commencing at 10 o'clock on Thursday, at Allston Hall, corner of Tremont and Bromfield streets, with the exception of the closing one on Friday evening, which was held at Music Hall. A large number of the old and tried friends of the cause were in attendance, from various parts of the State, and the proceedings were characterized by the same earnestness and faith in the ultimate triumph of the right, which have made the meetings of the Society memorable from its organization to the present hour.

EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, presided on Thursday, and, after calling the meeting to order, stated that prayer would be offered by Rev. GEO. W. STACY, of Milford. After the conclusion of the prayer—which was appropriate to the occasion, and to the condition of the country—EDMUND JACKSON, Esq., Treasurer, read his report, as follows:

RECEIPTS

Of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society from Jan. 1, 1861, to January 1, 1862.

Balance in the Treasury, January 1, 1861	$1,234 24
Bequest of the late John Rogers	100 00
Receipts from the Bazaar	183 33
Contributions at the meeting of July 4th	161 15
Contributions at Annual Meeting	192 88
Contributions at the 1st of August meeting	89 75
Donation from the Hovey Fund	150 00
Pledges, Subscriptions and Donations, as published monthly in *The Liberator*	1,599 08
Total	$3,710 43

DISBURSEMENTS

During the same period, as follows:

Paid Office Rent	$487 50
Expenses of Annual Meeting	250 00
R. F. Wallcut, one year's salary	425 04
E. H. Heywood, General Agent, one year's salary and expenses	886 14
C. C. Burleigh, lecturing and expenses	167 00
Printing	84 32
Office Furniture	24 00
Reporting by J. M. W. Yerrinton	97 00
American Anti-Slavery Society	408 33
Repository	80 00
Expenses at Framingham meeting	25 69
Circulating Petitions	19 00
Fifty Copies *Liberator*	24 00
A. T. Foss, lecturing and expenses	535 87
Sallie Holley, lecturing and expenses	136 73
Charles L. Remond	7 50
Samuel May, Jr	41 25
Balance	11 06
Total	$3,710 43

EDMUND JACKSON, Treasurer.

January 10, 1862.—I have examined the accounts of Edmund Jackson, Treasurer, for the year 1861, and find the same to be correct, and properly vouched; and the foregoing abstract of the same is correct.

WM. I. BOWDITCH, Auditor.

Three Assistant Secretaries were then appointed—C. K. WHIPPLE, J. M. W. YERRINTON, WENDELL P. GARRISON.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, a Business Committee was appointed, as follows: W. L. Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, C. L. Remond, Lydia Maria Child, Henry C. Wright, Giles B. Stebbins.

On motion of Mr. MAY, the following Committees were appointed:

On Nomination of Officers—Samuel May, Jr., of Leicester; Jas. N. Buffum, of Lynn; Wm. Ashby, of Newburyport; J. B. Swasey, of Roxbury; Briggs Arnold, of Abington; Henry Abbot, of Amherst; Samuel Barrett, of Concord; George Miles, of Westminister; Alvan Howes, of Barnstable.

Finance Committee—E. D. Draper, E. H. Heywood, Maria S. Page, Mary Willey, Thos. M. Hathaway, Elbridge Sprague, Georgiana Otis.

The President then introduced Rev. WM. R. ALGER, of Boston, who was received with applause. He made an able and interesting speech, which was heard with marked attention, and frequently applauded.

WENDELL PHILLIPS followed, in a speech of great eloquence and power, the leading ideas of which were embodied in his address on "The Times," printed a fortnight ago. For this reason, we attempt no report of it here.

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's speech, the meeting adjourned to 2½ o'clock, p. m.

Afternoon Session.

On Thursday afternoon, the meeting was called to order by JAMES N. BUFFUM of Lynn, who introduced to the meeting J. B. SWASEY, Esq., of Boston.

Mr. SWASEY commented on the statement of Henry Ward Beecher that the North should beware of imitating the South by unconstitutional action. He showed that the exigencies of war require a policy and a course of action entirely beyond that ordinarily contemplated by the Constitution; and that, since that instrument recognizes the possibility of war, and provides for it, the movements indispensable to success in war are not in violation of the Constitution. Great darkness and doubt prevail in the public mind in regard to this matter. Gen. Sherman neglects the instructions of the Secretary of War about drilling and arming the slaves; and our people at home do not see that military law under the Constitution is just as constitutional as any other law. Even Mr. Beecher hesitates before this question; cannot recognize the expediency of emancipation under martial law; does not remember the benefits of the overthrow of slavery even in Jamaica, where it was so strongly opposed. When such a man fails in this emergency, the prospect for heroes is dark indeed. Who knows what military dictator from North or South may override us, so deep is the demoralization of the Northern people!

He, however, took a more hopeful view of the position of the country than that taken in the morning. He expected military success on the part of the North, and great results to freedom from such success. Perhaps a generation of toil and conflict is before us. But he believed no fugitive slave would ever again be returned to bondage from New England.

Mr. EZRA H. HEYWOOD (who became acting General Agent during the illness of Rev. Samuel May, Jr.) then made a statement respecting the action of the Society and the labors of its Agents during the past year.

Mr. MAY spoke earnestly of the continued necessities of the cause, the urgent need of unremitting labors in this critical hour, and the duty of giving liberally to sustain those labors. The Finance Committee then entered upon their work of collection.

Mr. GARRISON then mentioned the case of a colored man, Levi Ward, who, having redeemed himself, his wife and one child from slavery, was now seeking means to purchase the freedom of another child.

Mr. WARD appeared on the platform, and gave some account of his life. Born a slave in Maryland, he began, at fourteen years old, to work in spare hours for the purchase of his own freedom. He was accustomed to split rails at night for this purpose; and when it was accomplished, he felt as good as Mr. Lincoln, though he had become only a freeman, while Mr. Lincoln had become President (applause). He served nine years as pilot on the Chesapeake. He paid $1,300 for himself, $500 for his wife, $450 for one child, and was now raising the residue of another $450 for his second child.

Mr. GARRISON remarked on the absence of revengefulness and bitterness of spirit in the story of Mr. Ward. He declared this to be characteristic of all the statements of freed slaves he had ever heard. They exhibited only thankfulness to God for their deliverance; and we should take to heart the lesson taught by such facts, as well as by the patient and persevering industry with which Mr. Ward had sought the freedom of himself and his family.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem, next spoke.

He had been for some months comparatively silent, and he could see little to hope in our position at the present moment. He sided rather with Mr. Phillips than with Mr. Alger in the view taken of our prospects. Few men could place themselves in the point of view of the black man, and the more one did so, the less encouragement would he feel. Not only in Washington and in Pennsylvania, but in Massachusetts, the colored man is still disfranchised, and kept in an unequal, a degraded position. In Washington, he (the speaker) would be no safer now than he was ten years ago; even in Massachusetts, his native State, he could not shoulder a musket for his country; and if he were with the army on the Potomac, he could not wear the national uniform. Things were not so in 1776 and 1812, under Washington and Jackson. In both these wars, black men as well as white shed their blood in defence of their country. Now they are not allowed even to bear arms for this purpose. Yet no one of this race has been found a rebel or traitor to his country. Such treatment, under such circumstances, made him doubt whether the boasted forbearance and forgiving spirit of the black man were a virtue. They had yet to prove their manhood by rising against their masters. This people, whether triumphant or trampled under foot, are an existing element in this country. They have grown, under all sorts of persecution, to more than four million. As well can you extirpate the Canada thistle as expatriate them. At this moment, the negro is blocking the progress of the government's success, nor will the rebellion be put down until justice is done him. You cannot with impunity violate God's laws upon this subject, any more than his physical laws. John Brown has shown us the way to success. If freedom come not so, beware lest this poor blind Samson pull down the pillars of your national edifice, and bury you with himself in its ruins.

Hon. F. W. BIRD was then called on by the President. He asked—

Who is it that now keeps the child of Levi Ward in slavery? Not the local laws of Maryland. It is the Massachusetts troops whom we have sent there; it is you and I who are protecting slavery in Maryland and Virginia to-day. Against constitutional right as well as justice, the blacks are held in slavery by the Federal officers, or sent back to the masters from whom they have escaped. When Major Gen. Banks was Governor of this State, he vetoed the measure which would have secured militia privileges to the blacks. Mr. Seward has uniformly declared that this war is for the institutions of the South as they were before the rebellion. The war we are now making is not only not against slavery, it is expressly for the protection of slavery. Our government has not emancipated a single slave where it could imprison him. Those in possession of the Federal army are still held as slaves. We have slaves with their rebel masters at Fort Warren in Boston harbor, waiting for the release of those masters to be again placed in their power. The slave roll is called there every morning under the shadow of Bunker Hill. He was no longer for "schooling ourselves to silence" under such circumstances. The key of the slave's chain is now kept in the White House. Our Administration has gone to the rescue of slavery, which had almost committed suicide.

Mr. BUFFUM wished to ask whether, in Mr. Lincoln's very peculiar circumstances, he had not done all that could reasonably be expected of him. His appointment of the anti-slavery Gen. Lane to active service he thought was an encouraging sign of progress.

Adjourned to 7, p. m.

Evening Session.

The meeting was called to order soon after 7 o'clock, Mr. Quincy in the chair. The first speaker was WILLIAM DAVIS, one of the fruits of the great rebellion, plucked from the "sacred soil" of Virginia, and gathered into the garner of Freedom. He gave a highly interesting account of the condition of his fellow "contrabands" at Fortress Monroe, testifying, not only to their willingness, but eagerness, to labor, and their appreciation of the great boon which has been conferred upon them. He said he was born and raised a slave. He had seven children, five of whom had been sold away from him.

He noticed the claim often made that the slaves do not desire freedom, and that they expressly say this when asked by their master and his friends. He frankly admitted that he had often made this same answer to the inquiries of his mistress, being well assured that it was his only way to escape being sold South. But, said he, when William said so, William lied. He knew, and God knew, that he wanted to be free. When Mr. Pierce, one of their teachers in the Fortress, asked if they wanted to be free, they all shouted, yes! They were also very desirous of education. They need books, teachers and money. They wish to learn to read the Bible, and they wish instruction of all kinds, understanding that it will help them against reënslavement.

Hon. N. H. WHITING then addressed the audience, in a very forcible speech, admirable in thought and expression, in the course of which he made some severe strictures upon the position taken by England in regard to the contest now going on in this country.

JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., a member of the Suffolk bar, followed, in a most effective speech, which will be reported hereafter.

Mr. GARRISON made the concluding speech of the evening, and was heard with profound attention. He found great cause for congratulation and hope in the changes that had taken place in the past year, and expressed his conviction that the people of England sympathized with the North in the present struggle.

Friday Morning.

At 10 o' clock the Society was called to order.

GILES B. STEBBINS, of Rochester, N. Y., said it might be supposed that the persons present at the opening meeting were Abolitionists, and he should speak on that supposition.

We are accused, as defenders of the slave, of caring for no other person, of disregarding the other constituents of society. But in fact, by the very act of taking a humane and Christian point of view, by looking at the rights and interests of the poorest and weakest, we see with special clearness what are the rights and interests of all, and what course of action will best promote the welfare of all.

Our work as Abolitionists is not affected by probabilities in regard to this or that issue of the war. We are still to prepare the way for emancipation, which must inevitably come. Union or disunion, reconstruction or the old order, no matter which may result, slavery must go down. That is one thing settled, and we must prepare the public mind for that result. The work is not done, even when the shackles have fallen from the slave. What prejudice and hatred must still be overcome and removed after he has become a freeman! This is our work, a work of long years.

We have put ourselves in the position of the slave, while pleading his cause, and we must continue to labor in the same way. It is this fact which has made the Abolitionists more clear-sighted as to the immorality and the disastrous effects of slavery than any other class. We know that to-day the negro holds the nation in the hollow of his hand. He is to turn the scale, and our action in relation to him is to prolong or put down the rebellion. We are dying out as a nation, for want of a purpose. The Abolitionists alone have a just, worthy and manly purpose, namely, emancipation, and this ought also to be adopted by the whole country. It is this which should inspire Gen. Sherman at Port Royal, and immediately on its adoption Savannah and Charleston would drop into his hands. Why should we not learn from the example of John Brown? His army of twenty men, inspired by this purpose, made Virginia tremble from one end to the other. On the other hand, McClellan, wanting this purpose, sits inactive with his mighty army, guarding the Capital, and the enemy vainly challenge him to meet them at Manassas. The Abolitionists see these things clearly, and must educate the people to see them; must teach the North that the rebels have divested themselves of all constitutional rights; that slavery may be destroyed now under the Constitution; and that whenever freedom shall be proclaimed, success begins.

He did not take that hopeless view of our prospects which seemed to depress others of the speakers. Our friends have not too severely criticised the government, but they have underrated the pitch of public sentiment, at least if New England is not behind the West in this regard. He knew of vast progress in the sentiments of the people, at least in the West. He had been a witness of the unanimity which Fremont evoked all over that region. He might almost have been a dictator in carrying out emancipation. It was sad to think of New England as falling behind the West in anti-slavery sentiment, yet he feared it was so. He had heard Charles Sumner grossly abused in Boston hotels, without rebuke from people respectable in external appearance. In Illinois he was sure that such calumny would have been answered with words, if not with blows. There is a difference in the expression of feeling between the East and West. Taking them together, however, he really believed that a majority of the Northern people desire and approve the immediate emancipation of the slaves as a war measure.

And this cause is constantly gaining fresh adherents, and among classes the most diverse in opinion upon other subjects. Dr. Brownson, representing the extreme of ecclesiastical conservatism, openly declares that emancipation is the only safety of this nation. On the other hand, Andrew Jackson Davis, representing the highest degree of spiritual freedom, takes precisely the same ground in his widely circulated *Herald of Progress*. The extremes being thus unanimous upon this point, the means are constantly tending in the same direction. Soldiers in the ranks are feeling this influence from without, and are beginning to feel that the inspiring word has not been spoken to them by their leaders. All classes are perceiving at last the great truths that the Abolitionists have been proclaiming for years.

Why have we war to-day? Why are we subjected to a thing so horrible as war always is? a thing which never comes but from the low state of development of man's better nature. This war was inevitable, considering the state of depravation to which the nation had sunk. Our care must be that it shall not be renewed five, ten or twenty years hence. Civilization and barbarism are contending, and the latter must be throttled forever. The public press is far below the feeling of the people all over the country, on this question. Does *The Post* utter the sentiment of Massachusetts? Does *The Courier* speak the mind of New England? No!

So with the Administration, which admits itself to be without a purpose, drifting along at the mercy of events. The wise man takes opportunity by the forelock and *makes* events. Whatever the grade of advance of the people, the government is far behind them. Lincoln is without a policy, while Jefferson Davis has one that is real and vigorous in action, however Satanic in character.

Yet, let us not be discouraged, remembering the law of degrees. Not all at once, step by step only, the people will come up, and the government must ultimately follow them. "The mill of God grinds slowly, but it grinds exceeding small." We should be sustained by broad and cheerful views, working on with steady perseverance for the accomplishment of our great object. Garrison does not now speak alone. The New York *Tribune* speaks with him. Many papers and many persons speak with him, and the circle is widening daily. After his thirty years of persecution and unpopularity, the nation finds itself compelled to move in his direction.

Probably a year from this time will have decided the fate of this nation. Probably twelve months will bring us either the jubilee or a defeat. If the latter, it can be but temporary. But *we* shall have, in either case, a sense of duty done to humanity and to God.

No true word, no grand deed, is ever lost. The words and deeds of John Brown will go down the path of time as redeeming and strengthening influences for all succeeding nations; and whatever we may do towards the freedom of the enslaved will in like manner live and bear abundant fruit after us (applause).

On motion of SAMUEL MAY, Jr., it was voted that half-past eleven be assigned for the consideration of finance.

It was also voted on motion of Mr. May that the Committee on the Nomination of Officers be enlarged by the addition of George Miles of Westminister, and Alvan Howes of Barnstable.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following brief remarks, with the accompanying resolutions, as a substitute for a speech:

HENRY C. WRIGHT—Mr. President, I want to make a speech, but not in the usual way. I would make it in the form of resolutions. I do not offer them with a view to have the meeting act upon them, but simply as expressive of my own thoughts and feelings. I wrote them solely with reference to my own convictions, and not with any reference to the convictions of the Society or the meeting. I will read the resolutions, and if it is thought best to put upon record what I say, I wish them to be recorded as my speech:

Resolved, That we regard the preservation of liberty and the abolition of slavery as of more importance to the people of this and of all nations, than the preservation of the Constitution and government of the United States, or of any other particular form of government.

Resolved, That slavery is the foundation-principle and animating and controlling spirit of the slaveholders' rebellion, and all efforts to crush the rebellion not prompted by intense and enduring hatred for slavery, and a supreme religious devotion to liberty, must prove abortive.

Resolved, That the present war, on the part of the South, is *avowedly* a war for the abolition of liberty and the preservation of slavery; and, on the part of the North, is—though covertly and not in form, yet in *fact* and in its *results*—a war for the abolition of slavery and the preservation of liberty.

Resolved, That the present bloody and sorrowful conflict is not between rival States and governments, but *solely* between liberty and slavery, and the conflict is inevitable and can never be repressed but by the entire and unconditional abolition of one or the other of the contending powers.

Resolved, That until the friends of freedom and free institutions shall have courage and honesty openly and emphatically to avow that they are struggling for liberty and against slavery, they do not deserve and cannot hope to succeed in their efforts to bring the war to a speedy and triumphant issue.

Resolved, That no slaveholder nor apologist for slavery can be loyal and true to a Constitution and government whose object is "to establish justice and to secure the blessings of liberty"; and every concession to slaveholders, because of their supposed loyalty, is the foulest and most fatal treason against a government aiming at such noble objects.

Resolved, That while a *bullet* may kill the slaveholder, an *idea* alone can kill slavery; that all that has been achieved for liberty and against slavery, in the ages and kingdoms of the past, has been gained in a war of ideas and not bullets; and never was the duty more incumbent on Abolitionists than at the present hour, to engage earnestly and persistently in that war of ideas inaugurated by W. L. Garrison thirty years ago, and in which they have striven successfully for the abolition of slavery and the preservation, propagation, and perpetuation of liberty ever since.

Resolved, That, as Abolitionists, we can now innocently and earnestly support and help execute the Constitution of the United States, because it now empowers us to abolish slavery and proclaim liberty to all under its jurisdiction; and if we do not use this power, and thus at once remove the cause of all our national troubles, we deserve, and shall receive the execrations of mankind.

I close with a repetition of one remark. Slavery cannot be loyal to liberty, nor liberty to slavery. Slaveholders cannot be loyal to a government that aims to secure liberty; and the moment that such a government attempts, in any way, to sustain slavery, it becomes a traitor to liberty, and incapable of answering the one great end of its existence.

Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., said he had been very much gratified with the speech of Mr. Stebbins, because the whole tone of it was well suited to impress upon Abolitionists the point at which their efforts should be chiefly aimed. Many seem to think that the specific action of bodies like this Society is nearly over, and that the same work will now be done by other agencies. This, in his judgment, was entirely erroneous. He never saw greater necessity for the existence and vigorous effort of this Society. The nation still needs to have constantly held up before it those ideas and those methods which we, and we alone, have been accustomed to present. Never was the enunciation of the grand and simple principles of anti-slavery more needed; never were the earnest and active labors of every Society and of every individual more needed than now. Though we have much cause to feel encouraged, all is not clear nor hopeful. Not only the heads of the people, but the people themselves are yet far from an enlightened position. Mr. Stebbins had given good evidence of the latter. Even the very favorable advance which he had described in the anti-slavery sentiment of the West needs to be enlarged and deepened. And certainly what he affirmed of the shortcomings of New England is lamentably true. His story about the abuse of Mr. Sumner in Boston was matched by what he (Mr. May) had just heard from a graduate of Harvard College, who attributed our present difficulties to the ambition of a few at the South, and the foolish fanaticism of a few at the North, and who was indifferent to slavery and in favor of a restoration of the old Union. Such men found their support in *The Post* and *Courier* of this city. [A voice cried out—"*The Advertiser* too."] Mr. May thought *The Advertiser* the most heartless and cold-blooded paper he had ever read, but he would not class it exactly with the other two for venality and unscrupulousness.

Shall we take the view presented by Dr. Howe respecting the policy of the government towards the slaves in Fortress Monroe (namely, that, since the slaves who have taken refuge in that place are held in confinement there, and guarded like prisoners, and since the wages of their labor are merely credited instead of being paid to them, it may be the purpose of the government to keep both men and money for ultimate surrender to their old masters;) or the more charitable view presented last night by Mr. Garrison? In either case, we must keep actively and vigorously at work.

HENRY C. WRIGHT read an extract from a New York paper, reporting a farewell conversation betwen Gen. Lane and the President. To the inquiry of Mr. Fowler, whether there was a particle of evidence in support of that statement, Mr. Wright replied that it was given by a correspondent of *The Tribune*, who signed his name to it.

Mr. HENRY WILLIS, of Battle Creek, Michigan, said that, in a recent conversation, James H. Lane had declared to him that he did not believe that there was a single loyal slaveholder in the United States. He would never send back a slave, either to a loyal or a disloyal owner. He proposed to free the slaves to put down the rebellion. In reference to the assertion that the slaves, if liberated, would be a burden on the country, Lane said there were five thousand contrabands in Kansas, and not a pauper among them. Our only motto, said he, is universal emancipation. It shall be when I take the field.

Mr. Willis referred to the enthusiasm of the Northwest for Fremont and his emancipation policy. Give us him, the people cried, and onward goes the war. Universal gloom followed the revokal of the proclamation and the recall of Fremont. The public feeling has received a most disastrous check, but it would rise again if he returned.

The hour for the consideration of finance had now arrived, and WENDELL PHILLIPS rose to speak on that question. He said: It seems unnecessary to urge upon Abolitionists the support of their own organs and meetings. We comfort ourselves with the tendency of events. That is but a word. Events are only the result of ripened effort. Gen. Lane had guarded a loyal slaveholder's family of slaves in Missouri from Jennison, who would have liberated them. In fact, we cannot trust anyone half so far as we can see him. One might except Montgomery or Jennison. Slavery has undoubtedly received its death-blow. The only question is by what road we shall reach emancipation. The President thinks we drift that way. But who helps us drift? That is the work of the Abolitionists. They have lost some of their former allies in the Custom House. We must work harder—scatter tracts and preachers, and support those men in Congress who would like to favor emancipation. We have six agents where we should have seventy. The people are ready to hear. Lyceums, which could not formerly endure an Abolitionist on any topic, now invite them, stipulating that they shall talk on slavery. It is the sense of an anti-slavery public which has sustained *The Tribune* in its decided anti-slavery position. But we make the anti-slavery public. They are not yet all converted. Brownson's subscribers dwindled to two hundred from two thousand, after his article on emancipation. The Abolitionists need still to be seen in advance. They have now the assistance of the pulpit everywhere, and of religious presses. Let them not be outstripped by these. Real peace is not to be expected for many years. In the Union or out of it, South Carolina will hate New England. Victory by McClellan will not bring us back Representatives and Senators from the South. All we can hope to do is to set in motion instrumentalities that will eventually wear out prejudice and hatred. There is no speedy panacea for our disease of long standing. We may have a military republic for long years. Is this a time to fold our hands, and to leave our work to recent converts and shrewd hypocrites? Speak through types, if you cannot of yourselves. Mr. Beecher found no way for emancipation through this war, because he had never read John Quincy Adams. It was this Society which had put in circulation the opinions of that statesman in regard to emancipation under the war power, and which ought to be known everywhere. We must direct the guns which the rioters of last year are now pointing on the Potomac. There is no hope of a *coup d'etat* in this country, as Mr. Willis had hinted. It were better not so; we cannot safely throw overboard the rule of the majority. We must educate the government, however slowly. Fremont was long since educated, when he wrote his proclamation. We must educate the people to gain him back as a Major-General. He might still be there, if the West had not hung its head. The undertone of the West had just saved Siegel from dismissal, and it might have saved Fremont. The German element knew what it wanted, and was in earnest. It leaves to Yankee Captains and Colonels the dirty work of returning slaves on the Potomac. They have come over from Europe to enslave no man, black or white.

Mr. Phillips closed by an appeal for the treasury.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND next spoke, saying that though he did not wish to take gloomy views, or to throw cold water on the cause, and though he had been reproved for his desponding remarks

by the capture and destruction of numerous ships on the high seas sailing under the American flag; and,

Whereas, every one of the remaining slave States (Delaware excepted, because only nominally included in the category) is so full of treason as to require the presence of vast armies from the free States to force them into feigned loyalty to the Union—the withdrawal of which forces would instantly be the signal for them to join the Southern Confederacy, and raise the standard of revolt; and,

Whereas, the National government is endeavoring to suppress this formidable rebellion, as wholly unjustifiable on any valid ground of complaint or any rational theory of popular sovereignty, and as subversive of the integrity and peace of the republic; and,

Whereas, under these extraordinary circumstances, it becomes necessary for this Society to define its position respecting the sanguinary struggle now going on between the government and the revolted South; therefore,

Resolved, That this Society regards the government as wholly in the right, and the Secessionists wholly and atrociously in the wrong, on the issues presented; and declares, therefore, that all the accusations brought by the latter against the government, against the Republican party, and against the People of the North, of a purpose to treat them oppressively and unjustly, and to act a perfidious part towards them, are false, malicious and calumniatory, incapable of being sustained by a particle of evidence, and plainly manufactured to subserve their treasonable ends, and shield their transcendently villanous conduct from the execration of the civilized world.

Resolved, however, That, in thus exonerating the government and People of the North from the foul imputations so lavishly bestowed upon them by the rebellious South, this Society does not mean to screen or extenuate the fearful guilt they have incurred, and are incurring, by their complicity with slavery as shown in their opposition to the anti-slavery movement, their proscription of the uncompromising friends of universal freedom, their injustice to the free colored population among them, their apologies and pleas for those who are slaveholders, and their unwillingness to throw off the heavy responsibilities resting upon them, by repentance and reformation.

Resolved, That this Society still religiously holds, in view of its pro-slavery guaranties, that the Constitution of the United States, as accepted and administered from the time of its adoption to the hour of the withdrawal of the South, was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," containing within itself the elements out of which disunion, treason and civil war have as naturally and inevitably sprung as the harvest follows the sowing of the seed; so that, if the same wild and guilty experiment were tried a thousand times over, the same tragical results would follow, in the nature of things. Nevertheless,

Resolved, That (though it implies no special merit on the part of the people of the North) it is matter of devout thanksgiving that, in consequence of the high-handed, treasonable withdrawal from the Union of the Confederate States—and also of the imperative necessity, to preserve even the semblance of loyalty in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri (the two last indeed having been recently voted into the Confederacy), that they should be invested by the armies of the North—"the covenant with death is annulled," and "the agreement with hell" no longer stands; so that, for the first time since its formation, the government, whether by the decree of the President or by act of Congress, has now the constitutional right, which now becomes its solemn duty and glorious prerogative, under the war power, as necessary to the speedy suppression of the rebellion, the removal of its cause, and the preservation of the Union, to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Resolved, That (in the language of John Quincy Adams) "by the law of nations, military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the Army, has power to *order the universal emancipation of the slaves*; that, from the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, *in every way in which it can be interfered with*; and that, by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and national power takes the place of them." Therefore,

Resolved, That for Congress or the President to waive the exercise of this constitutional power is to invigorate the rebellion, give "aid and countenance" to the traitors, imperil the life of the government and the unity of the republic, criminally prolong a sanguinary strife at a fearful expenditure of blood and treasure, render victory hopeless, and ensure the speedy recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy by the governments of Europe; and thus to lose the sublimest opportunity in the history of the world for the achievement of a grand and beneficent work towards the oppressors and the oppressed alike, and for the establishment of a free republic upon the foundations of impartial liberty and eternal justice.

Resolved, That the worst enemies of the government are those here at the North, who, wearing the mask of loyalty in order that they may the more effectually subserve the designs of the Southern conspirators, are constantly menacing and bullying it with alleged divisions in the army and among the people, to its final overthrow, if it shall dare exercise its unquestionable right by the law of nations, and its undeniable right by the Constitution, under the war power to abolish slavery as the most effective way, nay, the only method to ward off impending calamities and put down the rebellion; and public indignation should flame against them, so that the soil should be too hot for them to stand upon it, except as objects of universal execration.

Resolved, That the attempt of these pseudo loyalists to place the Abolitionists of the North and the Secessionists of the South in the same category, is an exhibition of brazen effrontery and satanic malignity; being matched only by the assertion that God and Mammon, Christ and Belial, the servants of righteousness and the workers of iniquity, are all equally to be abhorred and condemned.

Resolved, That while we appreciate, at its true value, the insulting and bullying tone of the London *Times*, and other venal and purchased English journals, against the people and government of the North, and in encouragement and defence of the Southern traitors; and while we are equally astonished and grieved to find so much misconception prevailing in England as to the real issue involved in this struggle—we, nevertheless, discriminate between the aristocracy, toryism and rabble of that country, and the mass of its intelligent and progressive people, represented by such papers as the London *Daily News* and *Morning Advertiser* and by such men as John Bright, Richard Cobden, George Thompson, T. Pierronet Thompson, and Wm. E. Forster, who, clearly analyzing this tangled question, and comprehending the immense difference of spirit and purpose actuating the two contending sections of this republic, are nobly vindicating at home the cause of free institutions in this hemisphere, and espousing the side of the people of the North against the treasonable Slave Oligarchy of the South.

Adjourned to 2½ p. m.

Afternoon Session.

The meeting having been called to order, Mr. MAY, in behalf of the Committee on Nominations, presented a list of officers, first mentioning that there had been lost from our ranks, since the last annual meeting, the President, FRANCIS JACKSON, and one of the Vice-Presidents, RICHARD CLAP, of Dorchester.

The officers nominated were as follows:

President—EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.

Vice-Presidents—Andrew Robeson, New Bedford; Adin Ballou, Milford; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Henry I. Bowditch, Boston; James N. Buffum, Lynn; George Flint, Rutland; John T. Hilton, Brighton; Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; Wm. Ashby, Newburyport; John Bailey, Lynn; Ellis Allen, Medfield; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Thos. T. Stone, Bolton; Wm. Whiting, Concord; Ezekiel Thatcher, Barnstable; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Benj. Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; George Mills, Westminster; Timothy Davis, Framingham; Zebima Small, Harwich; Wm. Pope, Jr., Dorchester.

Corresponding Secretary—Samuel May, Jr., Leicester.

Recording Secretary—Robert F. Walcutt, Boston.

Treasurer—Edmund Jackson, Boston.

Auditor—Wm. I. Bowditch, Boston.

Councillors—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Edmund Quincy, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Lydia Maria Child, Charles K. Whipple, Anne W. Weston, Wm. I. Bowditch, John T. Sargent, Charles E. Hodges, Charles Follen.

Rev. EDWIN THOMPSON was then introduced. He said he was unwilling to let this Convention pass without saying something. He had attended, he believed, every annual meeting of the Society from 1833 to the present time, and this was the first one in which he had not heard a hiss; and yet some of the strongest utterances he had ever heard had been made here. He thought that if ever any movement had triumphed, it was the old Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Not long ago, Mr. Thompson said, he heard the Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson lecture in Lynn, and he commenced by repeating the lines of Whittier, so familiar to anti-slavery ears:

> "Is this the land our fathers loved,
> The freedom which they toiled to win?
> Is this the soil on which they moved?
> Are these the graves they slumber in?"

This from one who had been a hunker of the hunkers! If that did not indicate progress, he did not know what progress was.

In allusion to the general feeling of the public, Mr. T. said he believed the sentiment of the country on the slavery question was very much like that entertained by the members of this Society. Wherever he went, the people almost all talked one way. The blunders of the enemies of freedom had helped the cause mightily. After the attack on Fort Sumter, the hunkers found themselves turned round, they scarcely knew how, and he did not wonder they had felt somewhat awkward ever since.

Mr. Remond had said that the colored people were not heard in the country. He thought differently, that the still small voice of the slave of the South was heard every day, and would have an important influence in the settlement of the great question. He felt much encouraged and strengthed in regard to the issue of the conflict. The reason why the anti-slavery people had succeeded was because they had inquired simply what was right, not what the nation liked. They had relied solely on the truth, and against that, no man or body of men was powerful enough to stand.

Mr. Thompson's remarks were interspersed with several pleasant and pertinent anecdotes, which created considerable merriment, and he was frequently applauded.

Mr. STEPHEN S. FOSTER followed, speaking in regard to the condition of the country and the duty of Abolitionists. He said the government (that is the people), not the Administration, were responsible for the continuance of slavery, and urged his hearers to renewed, constant and vigorous exertions for the education of the popular mind and heart, to the end that they might be led to demand the emancipation of the slaves, by which course alone could the country be restored to permanent peace and prosperity.

Rev. THOMAS H. JONES, formerly of North Carolina, spoke briefly, vindicating the capacity of the colored man for education, and his title to freedom. In reference to the change which has taken place in the popular feeling, he said that it was indicated by the fact that whereas men like himself were formerly called "fugitives," they were now called "contrabands," and their masters "fugitives." He thanked God for the change. His reliance was not upon Congress, nor the army, but upon the God of the oppressed, who would stretch forth his arm to save. He expected to go to Wilmington, North Carolina, again, as a freeman, and no one need to have any fear that the supply of cotton or rice would be less, after the slaves were emancipated, than it is now. "Take away your masters!" said he. And, thank God, they are going fast.

Mr. JOHN C. CLUER said he wanted to say a few words in regard to the views of the people on the other side of the water touching our quarrel. The London *Times* did not represent the bone and muscle of England, by any means. It had always been opposed to the masses. He thought England, Ireland and Scotland were very well represented in the army that is now battling with secession (applause). The aristocracy of Europe were on the side of the South, the people sympathized with the North. The "Complaint of the Negro" was a common song of the factory operatives in the old country, because their own oppression gave them sympathy for the slave. If Lincoln should proclaim emancipation, the people would rebel against their government sooner than have a war with this country.

He was pleased to see the great changes that had taken place in the community, and especially among the religious sects. They did not feel obliged any longer to go back to antediluvian times, to Sodom and Gomorrah, but could pray for the success of our army, and for the liberation of the slaves. He congratulated the Society on the manifest progress that had been made, and the auspicious signs of the times; and in this connection paid a warm tribute to Mr Phillips as a genuine Democrat, referring to the fact that when Mr. P. was in England, instead of seeking introductions to the aristocracy, he perilled his popularity by finding his way into a loft among the Chartists, and spoke with them and sympathized with them. He (Mr. C.) was one of those despised, hunted and banished Chartists, and he knew that every one of them sympathized with the North, especially when it comes up to the mark of adopting as its motto. "Liberty for all men, regardless of birth or complexion!" He was an anti-slavery man, not because of the black man or woman in slavery, but because the liberty of his own wife and children depended, in some degree, on his laboring, and thinking, and speaking for others. God speed the day, said Mr. C., when the stars and stripes shall be emblematic of freedom, and when a shout of jubilee shall be heard throughout our country, proclaiming that all beneath its flag are free and equal, enjoying all the blessings of liberty!

Mr. MAY, from the Business Committee, read the following resolutions:

Resolved, That to our already lengthened obituary registry we have now to add the name of FRANCIS JACKSON. Lent to humanity in a period of its sternest need, but eminently endowed to meet its demands; as a man and a citizen, possessed in a high degree of those qualities which dignify and adorn, as well as perpetuate a State; a lover of justice above everything else; as a reformer, among the earliest in our times, as well as truest, bravest, and most serene; seeing always as with anointed vision, with duty ever his guiding star; none were too high for his kind but firm rebuke, when sinning—none too low for his sympathy and succor, when suffering; his roof sheltered freedom of speech when driven by mayors, mobs, and the whole multitude from every other refuge; there, too, was welcomed the fugitive slave, and there he was ever secure. The causes of temperance and of peace found in him a constant and consistent advocate and supporter; the Woman's Rights enterprise shared largely in his ever-abounding beneficence: religious bigotry and intolerance stood abashed and rebuked in the sunshine of his noble and manly life, which illustrated the highest love of God in never-ceasing regard for man; and, exalting as he did, in every relation of life, the possibilities of human nature, in its reach towards perfection, his departure is a private, a public and general loss, mourned most deeply by this Society, whose presiding officer and ornament he was for so many years.

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery cause, within the past year, in the translation to a higher sphere of those venerable men, RICHARD CLAP, of Dorchester (for many years an honored officer of this Society), NATHAN WINSLOW, of Portland, and AMOS FARNSWORTH, formerly of Groton, has parted with those who were among its earliest, most intrepid and earnest friends, advocates and benefactors, whose memories deserve to be held in grateful and lasting remembrance.

THE PRESIDENT—I feel, ladies and gentlemen, members of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, that it would hardly be proper in me to allow the first of these resolutions to pass without a word, in view of the fact, that you have done me the great honor of placing me in the seat made vacant by that lamented death. I did not feel, at the time the nomination was made, and accepted by you, as if I could speak upon that theme, when I remembered that at the time I first came into this cause, five-and-twenty years ago, Mr. Jackson occupied the chair of its presiding officer. He presided at the first meeting I ever attended and addressed, and has stood before the world, especially before the world of Massachusetts, and more particularly of Boston, as it were, the incarnation of the anti-slavery cause; and he bore it so simply, with such dignity, he made it so eminently respectable and honorable, that even those who hated anti-slavery, honored and respected him. There was no man who went down "where merchants most do congregate," among the bank officers and insurance officers and men of business, there was no man in Boston more honored by that class of men than FRANCIS JACKSON. With a modest competency—modest, as the ideas of the world now are—which he had acquired by his own industry, there was no man in this city, which boasts so much of its charities and munificence, who exceeded him in liberality in proportion to his means I have no hesitation in saying, that not Amos Lawrence nor Samuel Appleton, nor any of those men whose names are proverbial for their bounty and munificence, gave more to public objects or private charities, in proportion to their means, than FRANCIS JACKSON. But, beyond and above all that, I honor, esteem and love him, as the representative of the anti-slavery cause, in which position he has stood certainly since 1835, in the very forefront of the anti-slavery battle. At the time when this city was full of mob violence, when Mr. Garrison was dragged through the streets, and was rescued from the hands of the mob only by having the keys of the jail turned upon him, when the Mayor declared that he was incompetent to afford him any other protection—at that very time, when it was doubtful whether the society of ladies which was the occasion of that mob could hold its meeting anywhere, without the building in which it was held being torn down, he offered his house for the use of that Society, and said that if an anti-slavery meeting could not be held in his house without its being destroyed, he was ready to have it fall, and would rather have it fall. He had entered the anti-slavery cause before that, but that was the month of his baptism into it, and from that time to this, there is no man whose name has been more thoroughly identified with it than his. I acknowledge the honor you have done me by placing me in his place. I wish I could believe I could fill it in any way properly. I will do the best I can to justify the confidence you have placed in me. But I can say, that I hope my term of office will be very short. I wish I could feel that this is the last meeting which the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will ever hold, excepting when they come together to rejoice with the slave at the jubilee (applause).

As to these other honored names, less known, perhaps, to many of this audience than Mr. Jackson, those who have been in the habit of attending anti-slavery meetings for the last thirty years know them well. They remember their reverend heads, their venerable features. We recollect their acts of bounty and munificence. We remember the countenance, encouragement and advice which they have given to the cause, and which have greatly tended to its advancement.

HENRY WILLIS, of Battle Creek, Michigan, said: The name of FRANCIS JACKSON has for twenty-five years been held in the highest esteem and honor by the anti-slavery portion of the North-west; and I know that I speak the universal feeling among them, when I say, that the death of no man in the nation, perhaps, could have been more deeply regretted than that of FRANCIS JACKSON.

The question was then put, and the resolutions adopted unanimously.

Adjourned to meet at Music Hall, at 7 o'clock.

Evening Session.

The Society assembled in the Music Hall, and were called to order by Edmund Quincy, the President, at 7½ o'clock.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Committee, read again the series of resolutions, and the President then introduced to the audience Rev. A. A. MINER, of Boston, who made a very effective speech, and was followed by Rev. J. M. MANNING and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The John Brown Song was sung between the speeches of Mr. Manning and Mr. Phillips, the audience rising and heartily joining in it.

The resolutions were then put to vote and unanimously passed, and the Society adjourned *sine die*.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, Jan. 26, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti Slavery Standard.

IF we Bostonians are not yet convinced of the duty, the necessity and the justice of immediate emancipation, but insist upon bandaging our eyes and refusing to see the only way of the nation's escape from this perplexing labyrinth of civil war, the responsibility lies not with the Abolitionists. Unfaltering and unresting in their labors, they are straining every nerve to save the country, before the destroying angel shall sweep over it, wailing the sad dirge, "Too late, Too late!"

The week just closed has been a marked one. I think we may call it the anti-slavery week, for to little else than the exigencies of the cause has it been devoted. In accordance with the custom of the anti-slavery friends, the Annual Subscription Festival was held on Wednesday evening. It is a long war for which we have enlisted, and the expenses of the campaign must be met. Money is as much the sinews of war in the moral as in the physical strife. So, every January we go up to our Mecca, the Music Hall, and lay our gifts upon the altar of the slave.

Then may be seen a gathering whose like is rarely to be found. Here meet together the veteran anti-slavery soldiers who have fought breast to breast for thirty years against overwhelming odds; young men and maidens just entering upon the stage; women whose heroic devotion to the cause in its long night of darkness is destined to become historic (some whose force of intellect has already made their names familiar household words throughout the land); strangers who come with wondering eyes to see what manner of folks these Abolitionists may be, and many friendly people, who have not been identified with the struggle, yet wish it well.

And what a delightfully social occasion it is! Around the balconies are hung the old anti-slavery banners and mottoes which have done constant service for a time so long that the memory of your correspondent runneth not back to its commencement. Underneath them, at little distances apart, stand the tables of the lady managers, where subscriptions are received and credited. The seats have been removed from the floor and the people are promenading, chatting, shaking hands, clustering in groups around some well-known friend, exchanging congratulations and making a business of being social. At the back of the hall refreshments are served up for the hungry, the tea-cups circulate and the edibles diminish. This feature of the entertainment the people evince no disposition to neglect. From the platform, where the Germanians are discussing sweet music, the pictured faces of FRANCIS JACKSON, CHARLES F. HOVEY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, JOHN BROWN, and the fine sculptured head of trans-Atlantic ESTLIN, look with serene approval upon the festive scene in which their spirits must be mingling. As you may suppose the evening is a short one, the best proof of its thorough enjoyment.

I am not able to speak of the pecuniary success of the Festival of Wednesday, though I believe it will fully equal the expectations of its managers. The day was unpropitious, and many friends from the neighboring towns were deterred by the weather from being present. Notwithstanding this, the assembly was comfortably large, though not so crowded as it has been in previous years. Brief addresses were made by Mr. Garrison and the Rev. Mr. Coan, who narrated his experience with the contrabands at Fortress Monroe.

Thursday morning the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society opened at Allston Hall. Rev. WM. R. ALGER and WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke. Neither Richard S. Fay nor J. Murray Howe were present, to help the proceedings by their opposition, and Mayor Wightman contented himself with suppressing his own hostility instead of the meeting. The attendance was quite good throughout. There was much contrariety of opinion among the various speakers, regarding the signs of the times, some discerning only disaster and destruction ahead, others seeing rays of light "up the blackness streaking," but all were unanimous upon the duty of the hour and the need of earnest, unremitting effort.

In the evening, DAVIS, the contraband from Fortress Monroe, gave an interesting account of himself, Hon. N. H. WHITING and Dr. JOHN S. ROCK made excellent speeches, and Mr. GARRISON closed with an encouraging view of the existing state of things, in strong contrast with the prevailing tone that had characterized the day's meeting. He saw much to rejoice at in spite of so much to be lamented, and urged a cheerful and philosophical consideration of affairs,

> "Ni too sombre, ni too gay,"

but one which recognizes a bright as well as a dark side, and "extracts consolation even from humiliation."

Friday was another interesting day. The evening meeting at Music Hall was specially fine. Rev. Mr. MINER, of the School St. Universalist Church, discussed the emancipation question in an able manner, and showed how foolish and unwarrantable it is in the government to dally with the treasonable border States; a policy that completely paralyzes the national arm.

Rev. Mr. MANNING, of the Old South Church, paid a tribute to the value of the Anti-Slavery Society and the character of the Abolitionists. He drew a graphic picture of the Conventions as they appeared to his eyes, when, as a young theological student, he chanced to drop in at the old Melodeon as a looker-on. He finished with an anecdote illustrating the fact that the public consider him in the same category with Wendell Phillips. "They do me too much honor," he said. "I am not worthy of such exaltation, but I shall always feel content and safe to ride in the same phaeton while he holds the reins." I give the substantial idea, not the exact words. Truly, as the President, Mr. QUINCY, remarked, "The Old South Church has unloosed her former moorings, and now swings round by the side of the anti slavery platform."

Mr. PHILLIPS made the closing speech, the capsheaf of the Convention. My stock of adjectives is too nearly exhausted to warrant my attempting a sketch of it. Your readers will see it for themselves. I sometimes think that Mr. Phillips was made especially to give a happy conclusion to anti-slavery meetings. He is as indispensable as the marriage in the novel, to wind up matters to the satisfaction of all concerned, and cover the past with a pleasant halo. For two or three days the discussions may have waxed warm, opinions jangled, telling blows in debate been given and received; but at the last hour the great magician steps quietly in, gathers up the tangled threads of debate, brings order out of chaos, reconciles this difference, explains that, throws light upon another, and by the warmth of his eloquence melts all parties into one harmonious whole. Like the skilful leader of an orchestra, he blends into sweet accord, by one grand burst of music, the tunes which seemed to unpractised ears only discordant and jarring sounds, heightening the effect and leaving upon the listener's mind the single impression of satisfaction and delight.

Let us hope that the true, faithful words spoken by the Abolitionists the past week may be powerful in hastening the speedy emancipation of the negro, and bringing back to peace and happiness a repentant and suffering nation. J.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27, 1862.

THE Senate makes progress, if the House of Representatives does not, on the slavery question, and on the question of treason and disloyalty. For an entire week the Senate has been discussing the case of Senator Bright—has been debating the propriety of expelling Mr. Bright from his seat for writing a letter of introduction to Jeff. Davis for the benefit of a gun-manufacturer. When Bright's past history is considered, together with the fact that notorious traitors have occupied seats in Congress up to a very recent date, it is certainly strange that member after member of the Senate should rise in his seat and speak in favor of Bright's expulsion. There can be no doubt among loyal anti-slavery men as to the propriety of expelling the obnoxious Indiana Senator. When he wrote a letter introducing a gun-manufacturer to the President of the rebel Confederacy, it could have been but for one purpose. And yet how changed is the Senate upon such questions since last winter at this time. It was only ten months ago that I heard a distinguished Republican defend the gun-manufacturers of the North, who were sending their firearms South. Men who are now Republican employés were then in the pay of the rebels. Only last summer Breckinridge and Burnett were permitted to keep their seats in Congress. No wonder that Senator Bright exclaims and declaims against this sudden rigor on the question of loyalty. But it is just.

Senator Bright has been in the Senate for a long term of years, and during all that time he has been known as the most abject lickspittle on the slavery question. He has said aye to every proposition of the slave-drivers, and has bitterly opposed every manly attempt of Northern men to resist the aggressions of the slaveholders. When Charles Sumner was struck down by the ruffian Brooks, Mr. Bright had not a single word of condemnation, and *now* how the tables are turned! It is now Sumner's turn to sit in judgment upon Bright. Who would have thought, two years ago, that Mr. Sumner, the persecuted "Abolitionist," would ever make a speech in the Senate in favor of, and vote with the majority for, the expulsion of Mr. Bright? The slavery question is all mixed up in the case, for it was Bright's devotion to slavery which led him into his treason, or into the act which savors of treason. Doubtless the charge against him would have never been brought up if at the beginning of the present session he had shown a proper disposition to atone for his conduct and to support the war heartily. Daniel Sickles uttered a treasonable speech in the House last winter, but he is now honored by a Republican Administration. So of other men, who last winter were in one way or another connected with the rebellion, or were friendly with the rebels. It would go very hard with some of the intimate friends of the Senators who spoke against Bright, if all persons who one year ago were intimate with the rebels and cognizant of their plans, were now to be tried for treason. But there is this very important distinction between the cases alluded to and the Bright case. Bright is disloyal still—has shown no signs of repentance, while the other persons are now active in support of the government. The Report of the Potter Investigating Committee, however, shows that too many doubtful men still find employment in Washington. The fact is that they force themselves into the best places. More astounding than that, some of them worm their way into good places under radical anti-slavery Republicans.

You will have noticed that there is some dispute in the newspapers respecting an interview between Gen. James H. Lane and President Lincoln. Mr. Croffut of this city (known to your correspondent to be a man of truth and perfect reliability) gave an account of the interview in *The Tribune*. No sooner published than *The Herald* denies the truth of the report, and pretends to have the authority of Mr. Lincoln for the denial. There can be no doubt among those persons who know Mr. Croffut and the President about the statement of the former gentleman. Mr. Lincoln *did* tell Gen. Lane that he could not see the propriety or the legality (I do not quote his language) of delivering up slaves even to loyal masters *in the rebel States*. But the publication of the conversation probably perplexed the President. He does not desire to offend the Kentucky members, who persist in proclaiming themselves his peculiar champions, and very likely he put them off with some explanation of his conversation with Lane. The pro-slavery journals and the pro-slavery members of Congress all deny the truth of Mr. Croffut's statement, and pretend to found the denial upon Presidential authority. Yet two or three gentlemen who were present with Croffut testify the exact truthfulness of his account. It is my belief that in his convictions and sympathies Mr. Lincoln is with the radical Republicans, but he is so surrounded by pro-slavery politicians of intellect and influence, that it is very hard for him to act out his deepest convictions at all times.

Stanton, the new Secretary of War, gives evidence each day of his fitness for his place. He possesses an energy which no other member of the Cabinet can approach to, and on the question of slavery, so far as it is connected with the war, he is a live man and not a dead fogy. He will use *all means* within his reach to crush out the rebellion. This is his determination. No man, not even Mr. Seward, can for one moment prevent him from pushing the war straight onward. To some one who expressed the opinion that our Generals would not permit him to infuse his energy into the ranks of the army he said, "I outrank every General in the army, and while I interfere with no 'plan' of conducting a battle, and may be of a campaign, yet *something will be done*, and that right away." He will convince our Generals that they *must* fight ere long, or lose all they are contending for by foreign intervention.

Even Mr. Seward is about ready to relinquish his idea, that the fewer battles and the less fighting, the greater certainty of restoring the Union. He probably perceives the danger from over the seas. If England and France would wait two years, no doubt Mr. Seward might not be so far out of the way, if a return to the old state of things is the object he has in view. In a year more of blockade, very likely the rebels might be starved into another compromise and a reconciliation. But fighting is now inevitable. It is the only thing which can save the nation from the virtual triumph of the slaveholders, and fighting we shall have in plenty ere long.

The rebels are rapidly approaching the time when they will call upon their slaves to fight for the rebellion. Facts have been laid before Secretary Stanton, which must convince him of this fact. They—the rebels—mean to be ahead of the government Generals and induce the slaves to fight against the Federal troops.

The moment they find themselves pushed to the wall, they will make use of the "servile population" in their defence. It has been proved heretofore that the slaves, under certain conditions, will fight bravely for their masters. Doubtless these deceitful men, having accomplished their object, would refuse to fulfil their agreement with the colored population.

It is said that the Administration admits that it is quite probable that the Southern leaders will yet attempt to make use of the slave population against us. But it claims that when that moment arrives the rebellion will be at an end, with the institution of slavery. In other words, the Administration holds the opinion that whenever slavery totters the temptation towards separation will be destroyed, and reunion becomes inevitable. "Then why not at once attack slavery, and send it reeling to its final destruction?" A most pertinent question, which is answered in this wise: "Because it is safer and better for the slaveholders themselves to decree emancipation than for the government, the Northern States, to do it. Let us force the South to destroy slavery, and when she has done it, we can easily and honorably 'compromise' our difficulties." Now I do not report the above to be the exact position of the Administration, but certain members of it have made use of language and arguments somewhat like those quoted.

We are rapidly approaching the pivotal hour of our troubles. Congress will soon be busy with tax-bills. The people will soon see the tax-collector at their doors. We shall soon feel the weight of the war as we have never done before. The crisis is upon the nation, and if it does not fail, the rebellion may be crushed. The feeling here upon this subject gathers intensity with every day that comes and goes. The general sentiment is that the rebellion must be crushed before June, or separation is inevitable. This view is undoubtedly the correct one. It is now or never with the government, and it behooves Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stanton, and Gen. McClellan *to neglect no means* which may cripple the enemy.

I am sorry to see no mention in THE STANDARD of Mr. Bingham's magnificent argument in the House in favor of immediate emancipation *by Congress*.* It was a splendid speech, and unquestionably the ablest legal argument which the subject has elicited in Congress.

AVON.

* See first page for an extract from the speech here alluded to. Want of room alone prevents its appearance in full in our columns.—*Editor.*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN —— TO GERRIT SMITH.

ISLAND OF PORT ROYAL, S. C., Jan. 9, 1861.

HON. GERRIT SMITH—*Dear Sir:* Seeing your letter to Thaddeus Stevens in one of my last *Tribunes*, I was so pleased with your views therein expressed that I determined to do myself the pleasure of writing to you and saying as much. I write because it is a pleasure for me to write, and, because I can corroborate, by actual views of the institution, your views of the whole matter. I enclose you an article (which happens to be at hand) which is one of several that I have from time to time written to the Chicago *Tribune*, and which may be of interest to you. I have since seen much more to convince me that, *even in this part* of South Carolina, the negroes are ripe and ready to take up arms. I could detail to you scores of conversations with colored men and women, showing that they have clear ideas of their rights and of their wrongs, that they have looked for our coming, have prayed for it. I know they are escaping daily from the main land, running a thousand risks of life (many *are* shot down) to get to our lines. They desire to be allowed arms, that they may aid in the revolution; they are our best and *only* pilots for our gunboats up the creeks and bayous; they give us all our valuable information. They desire to serve the cause in any way. One to whom I had said that "we would go over soon upon the main land," requested that he might go along and try to find his boys. He is an old man, and his sons (six in number) have been sold to different planters. He escaped from the main land the day of the battle of Coosaw River, and brought much valuable intelligence. It was most interesting to hear his talk, informing me of what he had seen and known and suffered, as a slave. But oh! the great burden of his song, which he would laugh out and sing out and cry out, at times to me and again to himself, again and again: "Bress God! I'se free now." How I do wish you could have seen him and heard him—the tones, the expressions of joy! His cup of happiness was full—full and flowing over. He is but one of hundreds who have fled to our lines, and who rejoice in the same way.

At the battle of Coosaw River, one negro, a few weeks since a slave, procured a "secesh" musket and marched up to within musket-shot of a concealed battery, and fought like a tiger, loading and firing deliberately until his cartridges were exhausted. The conservatives can put that in their pipes and smoke it. It is true—*I know.*

But I did not intend to write a long letter. You stand upon the true ground. God has opened most suddenly and graciously a door—opened it by the hands of the Southern masters themselves, in their own madness and folly—a door by which all this great evil can be blotted out. Will this generation be so blind, so utterly blind, or so foolishly perverse as to close their eyes against so magnificent an opportunity? I have full faith that the time has come. It dawns slowly. But when your friend and relative (is he not a relative?) John Cochrane, and Croswell, and Dickinson, and such as they, *come so far* in the right direction, is there not ground for hope? I can almost forgive Cameron all his supposed official corruptions, for the noble stand he took. One thing is certain, the soldiery are on the right ground, or fast getting there. I do hope we shall cease throwing grass, and try the virtue of stones, before long.

How I wish with you that Siegel or Fremont had been in command of this expedition. It is the laughing-stock of all the private soldiers—is the conduct of this campaign. Aching to be led on, but compelled to lie still. Sherman is safely ensconced inside his fortifications at Hilton Head. Hot weather approaching, more than two months of glorious fighting weather already slipped by since we landed, and not a stroke made. In the name of God, what do people think of it at the North? Are we to be burned up with fevers next spring, in order that this "proud and hospitable people, among whom I have spent some of the happiest hours of life" (*vide* Sherman's proclamation), may be prepared and fortified, and aroused and collected, and ready? Is he to *be* our leader? You may imagine the feelings of the army.

But I have said too much for a military man to say. Please do not regard it as other than the talk of a civilian, as you know I must not criticise the actions of such a man in such a rank as Sherman. But I must close. I have hope, and you must not lose hope, that gradually (as indeed all great facts grow into public recognizance and acceptance) the North will open her eyes wide and behold the open door by which we must march into this battle, or else find all our victories as barren as the Dead Sea. This is our great hope. God rules. I have been almost ready to exclaim, "Where are the attributes of justice and goodness, hidden in the great breast, the royal heart of our Father?"

Things have seemed so deeply veiled! Men who, in 1848, seemed touched with a sense of right, falling back among the vilest of the scoffers. The chains tightening closer, Pierce followed by Buchanan. Compromises still more odious gulped down graciously by the North. It seemed, or would seem, as if "the die was cast," and we were to become a great slave empire. But how short-sighted all of us when compared to that Omniscient Wisdom which directs all. I have full hope that our Administration will soon open their eyes and see, and that you and I will yet see the whole nation stripped clean of this last and most terrible relic of barbarism, and then we can (as we cannot before) become a nation of brothers, harmonious in action and identical in interest.

You do not know the pleasure you will confer upon me by writing me a line.

I hope you will yet be spared many long years.

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT.—Under date Jan. 20, a correspondent of *The Tribune*—understood to be the Rev. M. D. Conway—writing from Washington, says:

"On Saturday I had the pleasure of calling, in company with Mr. Channing, upon the President, who received us at a private hour. Mr. Channing opened the conversation with an appeal to the President to lead in relieving the country of slavery, perfect justice being done to loyal slave-owners, so fervent, calm and eloquent, that his voice seemed to be falling out of the heavens. There were but three present, and the President's conversation was so frank and generous, that I shall not repeat a word he said; but I will say, that we left him convinced of his disposition to do right whatever we may have thought of his views of the best way to put down the rebellion.

"I was pleased by seeing and feeling the prevalence in the Cabinet and among Congressmen of a solemn and serious spirit, which alone is worthy of the emergency. I think the anecdotes and dinner-table skirmishes have ceased. I was several times reminded of the old Saint Christopher who began bearing a child over a small stream, and who ere long found himself striving with a vast flood with a giant on his shoulders. May our nation, like the Christ-bearer, find the burden it now bears to be the savior from all evil!"

THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY (Asa B., Lizzie C., little Dennett and Freddy) will sing in Dodworth's Hall, on Friday evening of this week. Other entertainments will be given by them shortly, and we hope our readers in this city, who remember how much these vocalits have done to promote the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment, will go and hear them.

MRS. MARTINEAU.—We have received from Mrs. Martineau a letter, dated Dec. 29th (before the news of the surrender of Mason and Slidell reached England), which we judge it best, for her own sake no less than that of the cause, to withhold from our readers. Its spirit is identical with that of the letter which we published on the 28th of December, and which most of our readers regarded as exceedingly unfair, not to say arrogant, in its treatment of the questions then at issue between England and the United States. As those issues are now happily settled, or likely to be so within a short time, it would be worse than useless to occupy our space with letters from the other side of the water, written under the strangest misapprehension as to the state of affairs in this country, if not in a spirit of partizanship for the British government and people, and better adapted to offend than to enlighten our readers.

THE MUSEUM.—This institution, under the wise and efficient direction of Mr. Barnum, now presents even more than its usual attractions. The Hippopotamus, the Whale, the Learned Seal, the Happy Family, the Fat Woman (weighing over 600 pounds), are still on exhibition, together with a large assortment of other curiosities; while the theatrical representations in the "Lecture Room" are not only unobjectionable on moral grounds, but especially adapted to the amusement of the young. Mr. Barnum is training for exhibition a dwarf 13 inches shorter even than Tom Thumb. The name of this Lilliputian specimen of humanity is George Washington Nutt, son of Major Rodnia Nutt of Manchester. He is bright, graceful, gentlemanly, well-educated, fond of farming and sporting, and will doubtless soon be presented to the patrons of the Museum.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH is spending a few days among his friends in Chester Co., Pa. We regret that notice of his meetings was not received in time for publication last week. Those which remain to be held will take place as follows:

NEW LONDON, Saturday evening, Feb. 1.
NEW GARDEN LYCEUM, Sunday, Feb. 2.
CHANDLERSVILLE, Monday, Feb. 3.
KENNETT SQUARE, Tuesday, Feb. 4.

MR. WILLIAM H. BURLEIGH, well known to many of our readers through his advocacy of freedom and temperance, has prepared a lecture on the war, and desires invitations from lecture committees to deliver the same. His address is Brooklyn, N. Y.

A LETTER FROM OUR PHILADELPHIA CORRESPONDENT, though in type, is necessarily deferred.

OBITUARY.

AMONG the losses to our Anti-Slavery band, recalled by our Annual Festival, we record with heartfelt tenderness and sorrow one which escaped mention in our papers at

THE STANDARD

MR. GARRISON'S SPEECH AT NEW YORK.

The Abolitionists, and their Relations to the War.

Phonographically Reported by ANDREW J. GRAHAM.

[REVISED BY THE LECTURER.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: No public speaker, on rising to address an assembly, has any right to presume that, because at the outset he receives a courteous and even warm approval, therefore they are prepared to endorse all his views and utterances. Doubtless, there are some points, at least, about which we very widely differ; and yet, I must frankly confess, I know of no other reason for your kind approval, this evening, than that I am an original, uncompromising, irrepressible, out-and-out, unmistakable Garrisonian Abolitionist (enthusiastic applause). By that designation, I do not mean one whose brain is crazed, whose spirit is fanatical, whose purpose is wild and dangerous; but one whose patriotic creed is the Declaration of American Independence (loud cheers), whose moral line of measurement is the Golden Rule, whose Gospel of humanity is the Sermon on the Mount, and whose language is that of Ireland's Liberator, O'Connell—"I care not what caste, creed or color slavery may assume. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its instant, its total abolition. I am for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God" (cheers). Hence, what I wrote many years ago, I feel proud once more to affirm:

> "I am an Abolitionist!
> I glory in the name;
> Though now by Slavery's minions hissed,
> And covered o'er with shame,
> It is a spell of light and power—
> The watchword of the free;
> Who spurns it in the trial-hour,
> A craven soul is he!" (Applause.)

I know that to be an Abolitionist is not to be with the multitude—on the side of the majority—in a popular and respectable position; and yet I think I have a right to ask of you, and of all who are living on the soil of the Empire State, and of the people of the North at large, why it is that you and they shrink from the name of Abolitionist? Why is it that, while you profess to be opposed to slavery, you nevertheless desire the whole world to understand that you are not radical Abolitionists? What is the meaning of this? Why are you not all Abolitionists? Your principles are mine! What you have taught me, I adopt. What you have taken a solemn oath to support, as essential to a free government, I recognize as right and just. The people of this State profess to believe in the Declaration of Independence. That is my Abolitionism. Every man, therefore, who disclaims Abolitionism, repudiates the Declaration of Independence. Does he not? "All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty." Gentlemen, that is my fanaticism—that is all my fanaticism (cheers). All I ask is that this declaration may be carried out everywhere in our country and throughout the world. It belongs to mankind. Your Constitution is an Abolition Constitution. Your laws are Abolition laws. Your institutions are Abolition institutions. Your free schools are Abolition schools (cheers). I believe in them all; and all that I ask is, that institutions so good, so free, so noble, may be everywhere propagated, everywhere accepted. And thus it is that I desire, not to curse the South, or any portion of her people, but to bless her abundantly, by abolishing her infamous and demoralizing slave institution, and erecting the temple of liberty on the ruins thereof (loud applause).

I believe in Democracy; but it is the Democracy which recognizes man as man, the world over (cheers). It is that Democracy which spurns the fetter and the yoke for itself, and for all wearing the human form. And therefore I say, that any man who pretends to be a Democrat, and yet defends the act of making man the property of his fellow-man, is a dissembler and a hypocrite, and Lunmask him before the universe (loud cheers).

We profess to be Christians. Christianity—its object is to redeem, not to enslave men! Christ is our Redeemer. I believe in Him. He leads the anti-slavery cause, and always has led it. The Gospel is the Gospel of freedom; and any man claiming to be a Christian, and to have within him the same mind that was in Christ Jesus, and yet dares to hold his fellow-man in bondage, as a mere piece of perishable property, is recreant to all the principles and obligations of Christianity (applause).

Why is it, men of the Empire State, that there are no slaves here? Four million of people, and not a single slave among them all! On what ground was slavery abolished in the State of New York? On the mere ground of policy or expediency, or because it was an immorality, a crime, an outrage, and therefore not to be tolerated by a civilized and Christian people? Hence I affirm that the people of this State are committed to radical, "ultra" Abolitionism. And so I have a right to expect everywhere a friendly hearing and a warm coöperation on the part of the people when I denounce slavery, and endeavor to bring it to the dust, and to take the chains from those who are laboring under the lash of the slave-driver. You have abolished slavery, because it can have no rightful existence here. You allow no man to decide whether he can humanely hold a slave. So of Massachusetts, so of New England, and so of the nineteen free States. Slavery is pronounced a curse by them all. Every man before the law is equal to every other man; and no man may lay his hand too heavily upon the shoulder of his brother man, except at his peril.

In the very generous notice of this lecture last Sunday, by Henry Ward Beecher, he said that he fully accorded with me in my principles, which strike at the foundation of slavery. All slavery is wrong, unjust, immoral, and unchristian, and ought to terminate, but he expressed some difference of opinion in regard to my methods for its abolition. I am confident that, upon further reflection and investigation, he will find my methods of abolition are as unexceptionable as my principles. My method is simply this: when I see a slaveholder, I tell him he is bound by every consideration of justice and humanity to let the oppressed go free. That is God's method, and I think there can be no improvement upon it (applause). And when I find an accomplice of the slaveholder sustaining him in his iniquity, I bid him repent, and demand that he bring forth fruits meet for repentance. That is my method (renewed applause). Now, I say that if we are right in establishing our institutions upon the foundations of equal liberty, we have a right to endeavor to propagate those institutions all over the country and throughout the world. We have a right to say to those in the slave States, "Your system of slavery is inherently wrong and dangerous. Regard your slaves as men, treat them as such, establish free institutions, substitute for the lash a fair compensation, and you will be blest, wonderfully blest." Have I not a right to say this? Is it not a natural, God-given, constitutional right? On the other hand, they have a perfect right at the South to endeavor to proselyte us in regard to their institutions; and I think they have done their best—that is, their worst—in that direction. I never have heard any complaint in regard to the unlimited freedom of speech on the part of Southern slaveholders and slave-traffickers. We are told by pro-slavery men here, that we have no right to discuss this matter! They point us to our national compact. They gravely tell us to remember that, at the organization of the government, the slave States were in existence, and came into the Union on terms of equality, and, under the compact, we have no right to criticise or condemn them because of their holding slaves. Now, my reply to them is, in the first place, that no compact of man's device can bind me to silence when I see my fellow-man unjustly oppressed (applause). I care not when or where the compact was made, or by whom it was approved. My right to denounce tyrants and tyranny is not derived from man, nor from constitutions or compacts. I find it in my own soul, written there by the finger of God, and man can never erase it (applause). I am sure that, if it were your case; if you were the victims of a compact that denied the right of any one to plead for your deliverance, though you were most grievously oppressed—though your children and wives were for sale in the market, along with cattle and swine—you would exclaim, "Accursed be such a compact! Let none be dumb in regard to our condition!" My reply again is, that the compact, bad as it is in its pro-slavery features, provides for the liberty of speech and of the press, and therefore I am justified in saying what I honestly think in regard to slavery and those who uphold it. The Southern slaveholders, I repeat, have always exercised the largest liberty of speech. They have denounced free institutions to an unlimited extent. Is the right all on one side? May I not reciprocate, and say what I think of their slave institutions? Yes, I have the right, and, by the help of God, I mean to exercise it, come what may (great applause).

The times are changing. Yes, it is spoken of with exultation—and well it may be as a cheering sign of progress—that even Dr. Brownson has been able to speak against slavery in the city of Washington, without being in peril of his life; that even Horace Greeley and George B. Cheever have been permitted to stand up in the Capital of their country, and utter brave words for freedom; and nobody mobbed them! (Applause.) And I am told it is expected that my eloquent friend, and the friend of all mankind, Wendell Phillips (cheers), will also soon make his appearance at Washington, to be heard on the same subject, without running any great personal risk. This is something to boast of! And yet I must confess, that I feel humiliated when I remember that all this is rendered possible, under our boasted Constitution, only because there is a Northern army of 150,000 soldiers in and around the Capital! (Applause.) Take that army away—restore the old state of things—and it would not be possible for such speeches to be made there; but while we have Gen. McClellan and 150,000 Northern bayonets in that section, a Northern man may say aloud at Washington, "Let the Declaration of Independence be applied to all the oppressed in the land," and his life is not specially endangered in so doing! (Cries of "Hear, hear!") If that is all we have to boast of now, what has been our condition hitherto? Now, I maintain that no institution has a right to claim exemption from the closest scrutiny. All our Northern institutions are open for inspection. Every man may say of them what he pleases. If he does not like them, he can denounce them. If he thinks he can suggest better ones, he is entitled to do so. Nobody thinks of mobbing him, nobody thinks of throwing rotten eggs and brickbats at his head. Liberty! why, she is always fearless, honest, open-hearted. She says, as one did of old, "Search me and try me, and see if there be anything evil in me." But, on the other hand, we are not permitted to examine Southern institutions. O no! And what is the reason? Simply because they will not bear examination! Of course, if the slaveholder felt assured that they could, he would say, "Examine them freely as you will, I will assist you in every way in my power." Ah! "tis conscience that makes cowards of them all!" They dread the light, and with the tyrant of old they cry, "Put out the light—and then put out the light!" That is their testimony in regard to the rectitude of their slave institutions.

The slaveholders desire to be let alone. Jefferson Davis and his crew cry out, "Let us alone!" The Slave Oligarchy have always cried out, "Let us alone!" It is an old cry—1,800 years old at least—it was the cry of those demons who had taken possession of their victims, and who said to Jesus, "Let us alone! Why hast thou come to torment us before the time?" (Laughter and applause.) Now, Jesus did not at all mistake the time; he was precisely in time, and therefore he bore his testimony like the prince of emancipators, and the foul demons were cast out, but not without rending the body. The slaves of our country, outraged, lacerated and chained, cry out agonizingly to those who are thus treating them, "Let us alone?"—but the slaveholders give no heed to that cry at all! Now, I will agree to let the slaveholders alone when they let their slaves alone, and not till then (applause).

"Let this matter rest with the South; leave slavery in the care and keeping of slaveholders, to put an end to it at the right time, as they best understand the whole matter." You will hear men, claiming to be intelligent, talking in this manner continually. They do not know what idiots they are; for is it anything better than idiocy for men to say: "Leave idolatry to idolators, to be abolished when they think best; leave intemperance to drunkards; they best understand all about it; they will undoubtedly, if let alone, in God's own time, put an end to it (laughter); leave piracy to be abolished by pirates; leave impurity to the licentious to be done away; leave the sheep to the considerate humanity of wolves, when they will cease to prey upon them!" No, this is not common sense; it is not sound reason; it is nothing but sheer folly. Salvation, if it comes at all, must come from without. Those who are not drunkards must save the drunken; those who are not impure must save the impure; those who are not idolators must combine to put down idolatry; or the world can never make any progress. So we who are not slaveholders are under obligation to combine, and by every legitimate method endeavor to abolish slavery; for the slaveholders will never do it if they can possibly help it. Why do you send your missionaries abroad? Why do you go to the isles of the sea, to Hindostan and Burmah and other parts of the heathen world with your meddlesome, impertinent, disorganizing religion? Because you affirm that your object is good and noble; because you believe that the Christian religion is the true religion, and that idolatry debases and deludes its votaries; and to abolish it, or to endeavor to do so, is right. And yet you have no complicity with heathenism abroad. Nevertheless, your missionaries are there, endeavoring to effect a thorough overturn of all their institutions and all their established ideas, so that old things shall pass away, and all things become new. But how is it in regard to slavery? You *have* something to do—aye, a great deal to do with it. You ought to know precisely where you stand, and what are your obligations in relation to it. Only think of it! Under your boasted Constitution, two generations of slaves have been driven to unrequited toil, and gone down into bloody graves; and a third generation is going through the same terrible career, with the star-spangled banner floating over their heads! This is by your complicity, men of the North! Oh, how consentingly the North has given her sympathy to the South in this iniquity of slaveholding! How everywhere the Anti-Slavery movement has been spit upon, and denounced, and caricatured, and hunted down, as if it were a wild beast, that could not be tolerated safely for an hour in the community! What weapon has been left unused against the Abolitionists of the North? How thoroughly have the people been tested everywhere, both in Church and State, in relation to the slave system of the South! But "Wisdon is justified of her children." The Abolitionists serenely bide their time. The verdict of posterity is sure; and it will be an honorable acquittal of them from all the foul charges that have been brought against them by a pro-slavery people. I do not think it is greatly to the shame of Abolitionists that the New York *Herald* cannot tolerate them (laughter and applause). I do not think it at all to their discredit that the *Journal of Commerce* thoroughly abominates them (laughter). I do not think they have any cause to hang their heads for shame because the New York *Express* deems them fit only to be spit upon (applause). I do not think they have any reason to distrust the soundness of their religion because the New York *Observer* brands them as infidels (applause). Capt. Rynders is not an Abolitionist (great laughter). The Bowery Boys do not like Abolitionism (laughter). And as it was eighteen hundred years ago, so we have had, in this trial of the nation, the chief priests and scribes and Pharisees on the one hand, and the rabble on the other, endeavoring by lawless means and murderous instrumentalities to put down the Anti-Slavery movement, which is of God, and cannot be put down (applause). The slaveholders who have risen in rebellion to overthrow the government, and crush out free institutions, are in the mood of mind, and ever have been, to hang every Abolitionist they can catch. I hold that to be a good certificate of character (applause), and when I add, that the millions of slaves in bondage, perishing in their chains, and crying unto Heaven for deliverance, are ever ready to give their blessings to the Abolitionists for what they have done, and when they run away from their masters come to us who are represented to be their deadliest enemies, it seems to me we have made out our case. Such Abolitionism every honest, humane, upright and noble soul ought to endorse as right.

And, besides, I say it is a shame that we should any longer stand apart—I mean we of the North. What are all your paltry distinctions worth? You are not Abolitionists. O, no! You are only Anti-Slavery! Dare you trust yourself in Carolina, except, perhaps, at Port Royal? (Laughter.) You are not an ultra Anti-Slavery man; there is nothing ultra about you. You are only a Republican! Dare you go to New Orleans? Why, the President of the United States, chosen by the will of the people, and duly inaugurated by solemn oath, is an outlaw in nearly every slave State in this Union! He cannot show himself there except at the peril of his life. And so of his Cabinet. I think it is time, under these circumstances, that we should all hang together, or, as one said of old, we shall be pretty sure, if caught, to hang separately (laughter). The South cares nothing for these nice distinctions among us. It is precisely, in this matter of slavery, as it is in regard to the position of Rome respecting Protestantism. Our Protestant sects assume to be each one the true sect, as against every other, and we are free in our denunciation of this or that sect as heretical, because not accepting our particular theological creed. What does Rome care for any such distinction? Whether we are High Church Episcopalian or Methodist, Quaker or Universalist, Presbyterian or Unitarian, we are all included in unbelief, we are all heretics together; and she makes no compromise. Just so with slavery. If we avow that we are at all opposed to slavery, it is enough, in the judgment of the South, to condemn us to a coat of tar and feathers, and to general outlawry.

I come now to consider what are the relations of the Abolitionists to the war. Fourteen months ago, after a heated Presidential struggle with three candidates in the field, Abraham Lincoln was duly and constitutionally chosen President of the United States. Now where are we? At that time, who doubted the stability of the American Union? What power in the universe had we to fear? Was it not pronounced impossible for any real harm to come to us? How strong was our mountain, and how confident our expectations in regard to the future! And now our country is dismembered, the Union sundered, and we are in the midst of the greatest civil war that the world has ever known. For a score of years, prophetic voices were heard admonishing the nation, "Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God, Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place; and your covenant with death shall be annulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand." And now it is verified to the letter with us. In vain are all efforts to have it otherwise. "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision." "Though hand join in hand, yet shall not the wicked go unpunished." Yes, America! "Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars, thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord."

Who are responsible for this war? If I should go out into the streets for a popular reply, it would be, "The Abolitionists"—or, to use the profane vernacular of the vile, "It is all owing to the d—d Abolitionists (laughter). If they had not meddled with the subject of slavery, everything would have gone on well; we should have lived in peace all the days of our lives. But they insisted upon meddling with what doesn't concern them; they indulged in censorious and harsh language against the slaveholders; and the result is, our nation is upturned, and we have immense hostile armies looking each other fiercely in the face, and our glorious Union is violently broken asunder." Let me read an extract from the New York *Express* (laughter), for your express edification:

"Our convictions are, that anti-slavery stimulated, and is the animating cause of this rebellion. If anti-slavery were, now, removed from the field of action, pro-slavery would perish of itself, at home, in its own contortions" (laughter).

Well, I do not think I can make a better reply to such nonsense than was made by your Chairman, in a brief letter which he sent to the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society at West Chester, a few weeks ago, and by his permission I will read it:

"My opinion is this: There is war because there was a Republican party. There was a Republican party because there was an Abolition party. There was an Abolition party because there was slavery. Now, to charge the war upon Republicanism is merely to blame the lamb that stood in the brook. To charge it upon Abolitionism is merely to blame the sheep for being the lamb's mother (laughter). But to charge it upon slavery is to lay the crime flat at the door of the wolf, where it belongs (laughter). To end the trouble, kill the wolf (renewed laughter). I belong to the party of wolf-killers" (applause and merriment).

And let all the people say, Amen! (Cheers.)

But consider the absurdity of this charge. Who are the avowed Abolitionists of our country? I have told you they occupy a very unpopular position in society; and, certainly, very few men have yet had the moral courage to glory in the name of Abolitionist. They are comparatively a mere handful. And yet they have overturned the government! They have been stronger than all the parties and all the religious bodies of the country—stronger than the Church, and stronger than the State! Indeed! Then it must be because with them is the power of God, and it is the Truth which has worked out this marvellous result (cheers). How many Abolition Presses do you suppose exist in this country? We have, I believe, three or four thousand journals printed in the United States; and how many Abolition journals do you suppose there are? (Laughter.) You can count them all by the fingers upon your hand; yet, it seems, they are more than a match for all the rest put together (loud cheers and laughter). This is very extraordinary; but, our enemies being judges, it is certainly true. And now, what has been our crime? I affirm, before God, that our crime has been only this: we have endeavored, at least, to remember those in bonds as bound with them. I, for one, am guilty only to this extent: I have called aloud for more than thirty years to my beloved but guilty country, saying:

> "There is within thy gates a pest,
> Gold, and a Babylonish vest;
> Not hid in sin-concealing shade,
> But broad against the sun displayed!
> Repent thee, then, and quickly bring
> Forth from the camp th' accursed thing;
> Consign it to remorseless fire,
> Watch till the latest spark expire;
> Then strew its ashes on the wind,
> Nor leave one atom wreck behind.
> So shall thy wealth and power increase;
> So shall thy people dwell in peace;
> On thee th' Almighty's glory rest,
> And all the earth in thee be blest!" (Cheers.)

And what if the Abolitionists had been heeded thirty years ago? Would there now be any civil war to talk about? (Cries of "No.") Ten years ago? five years ago? one year ago? And all that time God was patient and forbearing, giving us an opportunity of escape. But the nation would not hearken, and went on hardening its heart. Oh! how guilty are the conspirators of the South in what they have done! How utterly unjustifiable and causeless is their rebellion! How foul and false their accusations against the government, against the Republican party, against the people of the North! Utterly, inexcusably and horribly wicked! But let us remember, to our shame and condemnation as a people, that the guilt is not all theirs. I assert that they have been encouraged in every conceivable way to do all this for more than thirty years—encouraged by the press of the North, by the Churches of the North, by the pulpits of the North (comprehensively speaking). Abolitionists have been hunted as outlaws, or denounced as wild fanatics; while the slaveholders have been encouraged to go on, making one demand after another, until they felt assured that when they struck this blow, they would have a powerful party at the North with them, to accomplish their treasonable designs; and it is only by God's providence we have escaped utter ruin (loud applause). Therefore it is that the vials of Divine retribution are poured out so impartially. We are suffering; our blood is flowing, our property is melting away—and who can see the end of it? Well, if the whole nation should be emptied, I should say: "Oh! give thanks unto the Lord; for he is good, for his mercy endureth forever!" Our crime against these four million of slaves, and against a similar number who have been buried, cannot be adequately described by human language. Our hands are full of blood, and we have run to do evil; and now a heavy but righteous judgment is upon us! Let us reverently acknowledge the hand of God in this; let us acknowledge our sins, and put them away; and let each map put the trump of jubilee to his lips, and demand that the chains of the oppressed shall be broken forever! (Cheers.)

"The Abolitionists have used very irritating language"! I know it. I think, however, it must be admitted that that charge has been fully offset by the Southern slaveholders and their Northern accomplices; for, if my memory serves me, they have used a great deal of irritating language about the Abolitionists. Indeed, I do not know of any abusive, false, profane, malicious, abominable epithet which they have not applied without stint to the Abolitionists—besides any amount of tarring and feathering, and other brutal outrages, in which we have never indulged towards them! (Laughter and cheers.) Irritating language, forsooth! Why, gentlemen, all that we have said is, "Do not steal," "Do not murder," "Do not commit adultery"—and it has irritated them! (Applause and laughter.) Of course, it must irritate them. The galled jade will wince. John Hancock and Sam Adams greatly irritated George the Third and Lord North. There was a great deal of British irritation at Lexington and Bunker Hill, and it culminated at last at Yorktown (loud cheers). Well, it is certain that a very remarkable change has taken place within a short time. They who have complained of our hard language, as applied to the slaveholders, are now for throwing cannon balls and bombshells at them! (Laughter and applause.) They have no objection to blowing out their brains, but you must not use hard language! Now, I would much rather a man would hurl a hard epithet at my head, than the softest cannon ball or shell that can be found in the army of the North (laughter). As a people, however, we are coming to the conclusion that, after all, the great body of the slaveholders are not exactly the honest, honorable and Christian men that we mistook them to be (applause). It is astonishing, when any wrong is done to us, how easily we can see its true nature. What an eye-salve it is! If anyone picks *our* pocket, of course he is a thief; if anyone breaks into *our* house, he is a burglar; if anyone undertakes to outrage *us*, he is a scoundrel. And now that these slaveholders are in rebellion against the government, committing piracy upon our commerce, confiscating Northern property to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars, and plunging the country into all the horrors of civil war, why, of course, they are pirates—they are swindlers—they are traitors of the deepest dye! (Cheers and laughter.) Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you one thing, and that is, they are just as good as they ever were (cheers). They are just as honest, just as honorable, and just as Christian as they ever were (laughter). Circumstances alter cases, you know. While they were robbing four million of God's despised children of a different complexion from our own, stripping them of all their rights, selling them in lots to suit purchasers, and trafficking in their blood, they were upright, patriotic, Christian gentlemen! Now that they have interfered with us and our rights, have confiscated our property, and are treasonably seeking to establish a rival confederacy, they are downright villains and traitors, who ought to be hanged by the neck until they are dead (laughter and cheers).

"Abolitionists should not have intermeddled with their affairs," it is said. "We of the North are not responsible for slavery, and it is a very good rule for men to mind their own business." Who say this? Hypocrites, dissemblers, men who are condemned out of their own mouths. They are those who are always justifying or apologizing for slavery, who are in religious fellowship with these traffickers in human souls, who claim political affinity with them, and who give constitutional guarantees that fugitive slaves may be hunted and captured in every part of the North, and that slave insurrections shall be suppressed by the strong arm of the national government, if need be; and yet they have nothing to do with slavery! Hypocrites and dissemblers, I spurn you all! When I see a man drowning, if I can throw him a rope, I will do it; and if I would not, would I not be a murderer? When I see a man fallen among thieves, and wounded and forsaken, if I can get to him with oil and wine to bind up his wounds, I am bound to do it; and if I refuse, I become as base as the robber who struck him down. And when I see tyranny trampling upon my fellow-man, I know of no law, human or divine, which binds me to silence. I am bound to protest against it (cheers). I will not be dumb. It is my business to meddle with oppression wherever I see it (applause).

It is said, again, "There was no trouble in the land until the Abolitionists appeared." Well, the more is the pity! Order reigns in Warsaw until Kosciusko makes his appearance. It reigns in Hungary until Kossuth comes forward—in Italy, until Garibaldi takes the field (loud cheers). No trouble until the Abolitionists came forward! The charge is false—historically untrue. Witness the struggle that took place at the formation of your Constitution in regard to the slavery guarantees of that instrument. What is the testimony of John Quincy Adams on that point? He says;

"In the articles of Confederation, there was no guaranty for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of *government* came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of Slavery was infused into the Constitution of Freedom."

And so at the time of the Missouri struggle in 1820. There were no Abolitionists then in the field; yet the struggle between freedom and slavery was at that time so fierce and terrible as to threaten to end in a dissolution of the Union (cheers). Oh! no stain of blood rests on the garments of the Abolitionists. They have endeavored to prevent the awful calamity which has come upon the nation, and they may wash their hands in innocency, and thank God that in the evil day they were able to stand (applause). No, my friends, this fearful state of things is not of men; it is of Heaven. As we have sowed, we are reaping. The whole cause of it is declared in the memorable verse of the prophet: "Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty, every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine." That is the whole story. This is the settlement day of God Almighty for the unparalleled guilt of our nation; and if we desire to be saved, we must see to it that we put away our sins, "break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free," and thus save our land from ruin (applause).

Be not deceived: this rebellion is not only to eternize the enslavement of the African race, but is also to overturn the free institutions of the North. The slaveholders of the South are not only opposed to Northern Abolitionists, but to Northern ideas and Northern institutions. Shall I refresh your memories by one or two quotations in point? Listen to the language of the Richmond *Examiner:*

"The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural and necessary, and does not depend upon complexion. The laws of the slave States justify the holding of *white men* in bondage."

The Charleston *Mercury* says:

"Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laboring man, whether white or black. The great evil of Northern free [mark you, not *Abolition*] society is that it is burdened with a servile class, mechanics and laborers, unfit for self-government, and yet clothed with the attributes and powers of citizens. Master and slave is a relation in society as necessary as that of parent and child; and the Northern States will yet have to introduce it. *Their theory of free government is a delusion.*"

Yet you are for free government, but not for Abolitionism! What do you gain by the disclaimer? The South is as much opposed to the one as she is to the other—she hates and repudiates them both!

The Richmond *Enquirer* says:

"Two opposite and conflicting forms of society cannot, among civilized men, coexist and endure. The one must give way and cease to exist. The other become universal. If free society be unnatural, immoral, unchristian, it must fall, and give way to slave society—a social system old as the world, universal as man."

An Alabama paper says:

"All the Northern, and especially the New England States, are devoid of society fitted for well-bred gentlemen. The prevailing class one meets with is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery, and yet who are hardly fit for associating with a Southern gentleman's body servant."

You see, men of the North, it is a war against freedom—your freedom as well as that of the slave—against the freedom of mankind. It is to establish an oligarchic, slaveholding despotism, to the extinction of all free institutions. The Southern rebellion is in full blast; and if they can work their will against us, there will be for us no liberty of speech or of the press—no right to assemble as we assemble here to-night, and our manhood will be trampled in the dust (applause). I say, therefore, under these circumstances, treason consists in giving aid or countenance to the slave system of the South—not merely to Jeff. Davis, as President of the Southern Confederacy, or to this rebel movement in special. Every man who gives any countenance or support to slavery is a traitor to liberty (enthusiastic applause). I say he is a dangerous and an unsafe man (renewed cheers). He carries within him the seeds of despotism; and no one can tell how soon a harvest of blood and treason may spring up. Liberty goes with Union and for Union, based on justice and equality. Slavery is utter disunion and disorganization in God's universe (cheers).

But, we are told "hang the Secessionists on the one hand, and the Abolitionists on the other, and then we shall have peace"! (Laughter.) How very discriminating! Now, I say, if any hanging is to be done (though I do not believe in capital punishment—that is one of my heresies)—if any hanging is to be done, I am for hanging these sneaking, two-faced pseudo loyal go-betweens immediately (loud and enthusiastic applause. A VOICE, "That's the talk!"). Why, as to this matter of loyalty, I maintain that the most loyal people to a free government, who walk on the American soil, are the uncompromising Abolitionists (cheers). It is not freedom that rises in rebellion against free government. It is not the love of liberty that endangers it. It is not those who will not make any compromise with tyranny who threaten it. It is those who strike hands with the oppressors. Yes, I maintain, the Abolitionists are more loyal to free government and free institutions than President Lincoln himself; because, while I want to say everything good of him that I can, I must say I think he is lacking somewhat in backbone, and is disposed, at least, to make some compromise with slavery, in order to bring back the old state of things; and, therefore, he is nearer Jeff. Davis than I am. Still we are both so bad that I suppose if we should go amicably together down South, we never should come back again (laughter and cheers). "Hang the Abolitionists, and then hang the Secessionists"! Why, in the name of common sense, wherein are these parties agreed? Their principles and purposes are totally dissimilar. *We* believe in the inalienable rights of man—in "liberty, equality, fraternity." *They* disbelieve in all these. *We* believe in making the law of God paramount to all human codes, compacts and enactments. *They* believe in trampling it under their feet, to gratify their lust of dominion, and in "exalting themselves above all that is called God." *We* believe in the duty of liberating all who are pining in bondage. *They* are for extending and perpetuating slavery to the latest posterity. *We* believe in free government and free institutions. *They* believe in the overthrow of all these, and have made chattel bondage the corner-stone of their new Confederacy. Where is there any agreement or similarity between these parties? But it may be said, you are for the dissolution of the Union. I was. Did I have any sympathy with the spirit of Southern secession when I took that position? No. My issue was a moral one—a Christian one. It was because of the pro-slavery nature of the compact itself that I said I could not as a Christian man, as a friend of liberty, swear to uphold such a Union or Constitution. Listen to the declaration of John Quincy Adams, a most competent witness, I think, in regard to this matter:

"It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three specific provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of preserving the slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation of slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons.

"The bargain between Freedom and Slavery, contained in the Constitution of the United States, is *morally and politically vicious*—inconsistent with the principles on which alone our revolution can be justified—cruel and oppressive, by riveting the chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master, and grossly unequal and impolitic, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured and returned to their owners, and persons, not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin's portion above his brethren has ravened as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil."

Hence I adopt the language of the prophet Isaiah, and pronounce the Constitution, in these particulars, to be "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." Was I not justified as a Christian man in so doing? O, but the New York *Journal of Commerce* says there seems to have taken place a great and sudden change in my views—I no longer place this motto at the head of my paper. Well, ladies and gentlemen, you remember what Benedick in the play says: "When I said I would die a bachelor, I did not think I would live to get married" (laughter). And when I said I would not sustain the Constitution, because it was "a covenant with Death, and an agreement with Hell," I *had no idea that I would live to see Death and Hell secede* (prolonged applause and great laughter). Hence it is that I am now with the government, to enable it to constitutionally stop the further ravages of Death, and to extinguish the flames of Hell forever (renewed applause).

We are coolly told that slavery has nothing to do with this war! Believe me, of all traitors in this country who are most to be feared and detested, they are those who raise this cry. We have little to fear, I think, from the Southern rebels, comparatively: it is those Northern traitors, who, under the mask of loyalty, are doing the work of the devil, and effectively aiding the secessionists by trying to intimidate the national government from striking a direct blow at the source of the rebellion, who make our position a dangerous one (applause). What! slavery nothing to do with this war! How does it happen, then, that the war is all along the border between the free and the slave States? What is the meaning of this? For there is not a truly loyal slave State in the Union—not one. (VOICES—"That's so.") I maintain that Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri are, by their feigned loyalty, greater obstacles in the way of victory than Carolina, Alabama and Georgia. Nothing but the presence on their soil of the great army of the North keeps them loyal, even in form, and even under such a pressure they are full of overt treason. They have to be enticed to remain in the Union as a man said he once enticed a burglar out of his house—he enticed him with a pitchfork (laughter.) Withdraw your troops, and instantly they will fall into the Southern Confederacy by the law of gravitation. That is the whole of it. But this is not to be loyal—this is not a willing support of the Constitution and Union. No! On the other hand, every free State is true to the government. It is the inevitable struggle between the children of the bondwoman and the children of the free (applause).

Treason—where is it most rampant? Just where there are the most slaves! It disappears where there are no slaves, except in those cases to which I have referred, of skulking, double-faced hypocrites, wearing the mask of loyalty, and yet having the heart of traitors (applause). What State led off in this atrocious rebellion? Why, South Carolina, of course; for in that State, the slave population outnumbers the white. And so of Louisiana, out of which every avowed Unionist has been driven by violence; more than half of her population are slaves. Charleston and New Orleans are the headquarters of treason, because the headquarters of slavery. Besides, do not the rebels proclaim to the world that the issue they make is the perpetuation of their slave system and the overthrow of free government? Commend them for their openness; they avow just what they mean, and what they desire to accomplish. Now, then, for any party at the North to say, "Don't point at slavery as the source of the rebellion—it has nothing whatever to do with it—the Abolitionists are alone to be held responsible"—why, I have no words to express my contempt for such dissemblers. I brand them as worse than the rebels who are armed and equipped for the seizure of the Capital.

It is loudly vociferated in certain quarters, "This is not a war for the abolition of slavery, but solely to maintain the Union." Granted, ten thousand times over! I, as an Abolitionist, have never asserted the contrary. But the true issue is, in order that the Union may be perpetuated, shall not slavery, the cause of its dismemberment, be stricken down to the earth? The necessity is found in the present imperilled state of the government, and in the fatal experiment of the past. There cannot again be a union of the States as it existed before the rebellion; for while I will not underrate Northern valor, but believe that Northern soldiers are competent to achieve anything that men can do in the nature of things, I have no faith in the success of the army in its attempt to subdue the South, while leaving slavery alive upon her soil. If any quarter is given to it, it seems to me that our defeat is just as certain in the end as that God reigns. We have got to make up our minds to one of three alternatives: either to be vanquished by the rebel forces, or to see the Southern Confederacy shortly acknowledged by the European powers; or else, for self-preservation and to maintain its supremacy over the whole country, the government must transform every slave into a man and a freeman, henceforth to be protected as such under the national ensign (applause). The right of the government to do this, in the present fearful emergency, is unquestionable. Has not slavery made itself an outlaw? And what claim has an outlaw upon the Constitution or the Union? Guilty of the blackest treason, what claims have the traitors upon the government? Why, the claim to be hanged by the neck until they are "dead, dead, dead"—nothing else (applause).

What sane man, what true patriot, wants the old Union restored—the Slave Oligarchy once more in power over the free States—Congress under slaveholding mastership—the army, navy, treasury, executive, Supreme Court, all controlled by the traffickers in human flesh? No! no! Happily, the government may now constitutionally do what until the secession it had not the power do do. For thirty years the Abolitionists have sent in their petitions to Congress, asking that body to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, to prevent the further extension of slavery, to repeal the Fugitive Slave bill, etc., etc.; but not to interfere with slavery in the Southern States. We recognized the compact as it was made. But now, by their treasonable course, the slaveholders may no longer demand constitutional protection for their slave property. The old "covenant with death" should never have been made. Our fathers sinned—sinned grievously and inexcusably—when they consented to the hunting of fugitive slaves—to a slave representation in Congress—to the prosecution of the foreign slave trade, under the national flag, for twenty years—to the suppression of slave insurrections by the whole power of the government. I know the dire extremity in which they were placed—exhausted by a seven years' war, reduced to bankruptcy, bleeding at every pore, fearing that the colonies would be conquered in detail by England if they did not unite—it was a terrible temptation to compromise; but it does not exonerate them from guilt. The Union should not have been made upon such conditions; but now that the South has trampled it under foot, it must not be restored as it was, even if it can be done (applause). But it cannot be done. There are two parties who will make such a reunion impossible: the first is, the South—the second, the North. Besides, what reliable guaranty could be given that, after coming back, the South would not secede within twenty-four hours? The right to secede *ad libitum* is her cardinal doctrine. Moreover, she declares that she has taken her leave of us forever; she will not unite with us on any terms. Let me read you an extract from Jefferson Davis's last message to the Confederate Congress:

"Not only do the causes which induced us to separate still last in full force, but they have been strengthened; and whatever doubt may have lingered on the minds of any, must have been completely dispelled by subsequent events. If, instead of being a dissolution of a league, it were indeed a rebellion in which we are engaged, we might feel ample vindication for the course we have adopted in the scenes which are now being enacted in the United States. Our people now look with contemptuous astonishment on those with whom they have been so recently associated. They shrink with aversion from the bare idea of renewing such a connection. With such a people we may be content to live at peace, but *our separation is final*, and for the independence we have asserted we will accept no alternative."

Now, this is open and above-board, and it ought to be resolutely met by the North in the glorious spirit of freedom, saying, "By the traitorous position you have assumed, you have put your sl